41ST CONGRESS, 2d Session. | SENATE. | Ex. Doc. No. 33.

MESSAGE

OF THE

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

COMMUNICATING,

In compliance with a resolution of the Senate of December 8, 1869, information relating to the presence of the honorable William McDougall at Pembina, in Dakota Territory, and the opposition by the inhabitants of Selkirk settlement to his assumption of the office of governor of the Northwest Territory.

FEBRUARY 3, 1870.—Read, referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and ordered to be printed.

To the Senate of the United States:

In answer to the resolution of the Senate of the 8th ultimo, I transmit a report from the Secretary of State, and the papers which accompanied it.

U. S. GRANT.

WASHINGTON, *February* 2, 1870.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, February 2, 1870.

The Secretary of State, to whom was referred the resolution of the Senate of the 8th ultimo, requesting the President, if in his judgment consistent with the public interests, to communicate to the Senate such information as may be in the possession of the government relating to the presence of the honorable William McDougall at Pembina, in Dakota Territory, and the opposition by the inhabitants of Selkirk settlement to his assumption of the office of governor of the Northwest Territory, lately said to have been transferred by the Hudson's Bay Company to the Dominion of Canada, has the honor to lay before the President the papers mentioned in the subjoined list, which contain the information called for by the resolution.

Respectfully submitted.

HAMILTON FISH.

The PRESIDENT.

List of papers accompanying report of the Secretary of State to the President, of the 2d of February, 1870, on political affairs in the Red River region.

No. 1. Mr. Malmros to Mr. Davis, September 11, 1869.

Inclosure 1 in No. 1. Correspondence of the St. Paul Press, November 4, 1869.

No. 2. Mr. Malmros to Mr. Davis, November 6, 1869.

No. 3. Mr. Taylor to Mr. Fish, November 16, 1869.
No. 4. Mr. Malmros to Mr. Davis, December 4, 1869.
No. 5. Mr. Stiles to Mr. Fish, December 10, 1869.
No. 6. Mr. Malmros to Mr. Davis, December 11, 1869.
Inclosure 1 in No. 6. Declaration of independence by the people of Rupert's Land and the Northwest, December 8, 1869.
Inclosure 2 in No. 6. The order of Colonel Dennis on behalf of the Hon. William McDougall, appointed lieutenant governor of the Northwest Territories, December 6, 1869.
Inclosure 3 in No. 6. Second order from the same, December 9, 1869.
No. 7. Canadian act for temporary government of Rupert's Land, &c.
No. 8. Canadian act concerning surrender of the land, privileges, and rights of the Hudson's Bay Company.
No. 9. Mr. Taylor to Mr. Fish, January 20, 1870.
Inclosure 1 in No. 9. Supplementary papers, extracts from the press of the United States, the British provinces, and England, as follows:
I. Selkirk settlement. Governor Ramsey's visit in 1851, (from the Washington Chronicle.)
II. Lord Selkirk's colonization, (from the New York Herald.)
III. Governor McTavish's proclamation, (from the Winnipeg Northwester and Pioneer, extra, November 17, 1869.)
IV. Mr. McDougall's statement, (from the St. Paul Press,) December 31, 1869.
V. The Indian enlistment under Colonel Dennis, further statements, (from the St. Paul Press.)
VI. Sketch of Mr. McDougal, (from the correspondence of the New York Herald,) December 28, 1869.
VII. Sketch of the Red River leaders, (from the St. Paul Press correspondence.)
VIII. Comments by the Canadian press.
IX. Comments by American press.
X. Comments by the English press.

No. 1.

Mr. Malmros to Mr. Davis.

No. 10.] CONSULATE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Winnipeg, British North America, September 11, 1869.

SIR: In the following lines I beg to submit a short statement of the political condition of this part of British North America. Of the population of this Territory, twelve thousand to fourteen thousand inhabitants, one-half are French half-breeds, belonging to the Catholic church, the other half are descendants of Scotchmen, English half-breeds, and a few Americans. The entire French, and over one-half of the other inhabitants, are strongly opposed to annexation to Canada, the rest, with the exception of perhaps a couple of dozen of Canadian partisans, are politically indifferent. There are two influential corporations in this Territory, first, and by far the most influential, the Catholic clergy, next, the resident officers of the Hudson Bay Company.

Both are decided in their expression to me of dislike to Canadian rule, although the Hudson's Bay Company, I think, might be conciliated by the Canadian government if the latter would treat with proper consideration the wishes and interests of the company's officers here.

* * * * * * * *

In case of insurrection the people, on account of their relationship with the Indians, would be able to get the assistance of from one thousand to fifteen hundred Indian warriors. * * * * *
The country is easily defended against a Canadian invasion. At present there is not a single soldier in this country. But the people have no political experience, little talent for organization, and hardly enough political vitality to incline them to sustain the burdens which an insurrection might necessitate. The mass of the settlers are strongly inclined, however, to get up a riot to expel the new governor on his arrival here about the 15th of October. A few of the opponents of Canada, it is true, are dissuading them from engaging in any riotous proceedings, but whether their advice will prevail is still doubtful.
* * * * * * *

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

OSCAR MALMROS,
United States Consul.

Hon. J. C. B. DAVIS,
Acting Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

[Inclosure.]

(Special correspondence of the St. Paul Press.)

EXCITING EVENTS—PROGRESS OF THE RED RIVER REBELLION—THE DECISIVE BLOW STRUCK—FIVE HUNDRED INSURGENTS IN ARMS—GOV. M'DOUGALL BELEAGUERED AT THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY'S FORT NEAR PEMBINA—THE GOVERNOR AND HIS PARTY DRIVEN FROM THE TERRITORY—HE ENCAMPS ON AMERICAN SOIL TO AWAIT THE TURN OF EVENTS—HE SENDS TO THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT FOR TROOPS AND ARMS TO SUBDUE THE REBELS.

PEMBINA, DAKOTA TERRITORY, *November* 4, 1869.

Tuesday evening, the second instant, a company of Red River cavalry surrounded the Hudson's Bay Company's fort near this place, where Governor McDougall and official staff were quartered, and notified his excellency and party to leave the Territory by nine o'clock the following morning.

The governor demanded a parley, but was informed that the troops had come to execute an order, and not to hold a council.

Promptly at nine o'clock yesterday morning the troops entered the stockade, arrested and securely bound William Hallett, (guide of Colonel Denis, surveyor general,) whereupon the governor and party made for their horses and wagons, and evacuated the fort without further warning. The entire party recrossed the international boundary, and are at this time encamped on United States soil near this place, out of range of the enemy's guns. The troops conducted themselves throughout in the most soldier-like and orderly manner, not indulging in a single excess or any unnecessary demonstration, nor an expression disrespectful to the unfortunate executive or party.

Immediately after the governor and party had recrossed the boundary, a portion of the troops started for headquarters, taking with them Hallett, the prisoner guide, while the captain, with the residue of his command, went into camp near the international boundary, to observe the movements of the expelled officials.

A king without a kingdom is said to be poorer than a peasant. And I can assure you that a live governor, with a full complement of officials and menials, from attorney general down to cooks and scullions, without one poor foot of territory, is a spectacle sufficiently sad to move the hardest heart.

I am informed that Mr. McDougall intends to send the ladies and children of his party back to Canada, while he will remain near the much-coveted Territory and await the turn of events.

It has been intimated that the governor has secured the services of four citizens of the United States to carry a message to the Canadian government, across the country via Superior. He will call upon the home government for troops and munitions of war to enable him to enter and govern his Territory. The Canadian government will, it is said, apply to the government at Washington for a permit to move troops, &c., through United States territory, inasmuch as this is absolutely the *only* route by which they can reach the Red River. But as these troops are to be used against British subjects now in arms against Canadian rule, it is not at all probable that our government will be so extremely obliging to our *very* dear friends during *our* late troubles.

The Nor'-Wester, as yet the only paper published in the Red River settlements, is in the interest of the Canadian government, and for some months past has been misrepresenting the actual condition of affairs in the Territory—representing this rising of the people as the act of a few ignorant half-breeds, when, in fact, it is well known here that the Red River people, of all nationalities, are united almost to a man. True, as yet only some five hundred men are in arms; but those who remain neutral cannot be induced to take up arms on the Canadian side, and should coercion be attempted, the rising will be general, and the Indians are ready to make common cause with the people.

All is orderly and quiet in the settlements, and the rights of person and property respected. The troops are well supplied, by voluntary donations from the people remaining at home.

SPECTATOR.

ANOTHER LETTER.

[Special correspondence St. Paul Press.]

PEMBINA, *November* 3, 1869.

On the 22d of September last I wrote a letter to Mr. Kittson, of your place, in which I gave him a true account of the rumors of an insurrection being about to take place in the Red River settlement, British North America. I presume, however, no more faith could be placed in such rumors at that time in St. Paul than in this quiet town, but they resulted in these facts:

When Governor, or rather prospective Governor, McDougall got here with his party, on or about the 30th ultimo, insurrectionists were organized, more than four hundred strong, guarding all the roads, with headquarters at St. Norbert, some nine miles this side or south of Fort Garry. The prospective governor and party proceeded from here as far as the trading post owned by the Hudson's Bay Company, situate about two and a quarter miles north of this place, on the British side; then and there established his headquarters, and decided not to go any further till the roads were cleared. One Mr. Provencher, his secretary of state to be, tried to force his way down to Fort Garry, but the formidable gate of St. Norbert could not be overrun. He was, therefore, returned yesterday a prisoner, together with others attached to Mr. McDougall's future government, by a guard of twenty men, to the headquarters of the governor to be. Last night Mr. McDougall and party were notified to pack up *armes et bagage* and leave for Canada this morning at 9 o'clock. I this morning repaired to the seat of war, it being so close, and met on the way the future government, furnishing the sight of sad and disappointed faces. Some twenty flint guns accompanied them to the old stake, or boundary line. They were sent, not to welcome the party, but to drive them out of their country. After having escorted the future governor and company to the line, the most of the insurrectionists detailed for that purpose returned to the headquarters at St. Norbert, to report a victory obtained without the shedding of one drop of human blood. At this very time his future excellency and party are preparing their breakfast in the timber growing on the banks of the majestical river of Pembina, and will leave during the day for the Dominion of Canada. Such is life! The honors were only prospective—Queen Victoria not having issued her proclamation as yet, and therefore the Red River settlement being no part of said Dominion—but were of a mighty short duration! What vicissitudes in this life! Only a few years ago I had to go and shield myself with my family under the British flag, for protection from the hostile Indians; and this day Mr. McDougall and party have to shield themselves under the wings of the American eagle, for protection from citizens he thought yesterday he had been made to govern! The insurrectionists feel pretty independent, and will no doubt hold the country for eight months without trouble, and forever unless our government gives to the Dominion of Canada leave to pass troops through the States. In case of a refusal, the only alternative would be either to dispatch troops by way of York Factory, or through the Thunder Hills, where they would be crushed by the thunder, or complete their road now in way of construction, and forward them through Lake Superior, Lake of Woods, and Rainy Lake, partly by land and partly by water. The completion of that road is very doubtful. Were it even in a passable condition, the many thick woods lying on both sides of the way would afford the best of chances to skirmishing parties.

The grievances are, as near as I could ascertain, that the Dominion of Canada, or foreign authorities, are trying to force upon the Red River people an unsuitable form of government, without even consulting them; that they would be taxed to pay hundreds of thousands of dollars for pretended rights just purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company by the Dominion of Canada.

The press in Canada West has represented them also unfit to exercise the right of franchise, placing them, consequently, in a lower position than that of the colored people of the American Union; that Mr. McDougall's company were coming to their

country with the full determination of carrying out every one of those oppressive views, &c. They are called beggars, thieves, plunderers, &c.—a very poor way of reconciliation. Their country surely is not wanting in men of intelligence and ability, and fully competent to govern them. The insurrectionists are fully organized. Mr. John Bronssé is their governor. I have not heard of the names of the other officers. Let them be recognized as belligerents, and they will take care of their own country. Mr. Louis Riel, a young man of considerable pluck, leads the insurrectionists. Everything is now quiet. Only four scouts were left near the line to prevent the return of Mr. McDougall to their land of liberty. Mr. William Hallett, being suspected of acting the part of a spy, was taken prisoner to-day, and was marched down by an escort to the headquarters at St. Norbert.

PEMBINA.

ANOTHER ACCOUNT.

In addition to the above, we are indebted to Hon. J. C. Stœver for the following extract from a private letter containing further particulars of the affair:

"The insurrection is in full blast. A provisional government has been formed, with John Bruce at the head as president, and Louis Riall commander-in-chief of the forces. Governor McDougall passed through here last Saturday evening. While here he was waited upon by a deputation, who presented him a communication from the 'national committee,' warning him to return. The governor and party proceeded to the Hudson's Bay Company's fort or trading post, about two miles north of here, and put up for the night. Sunday morning he sent forward Captains Cameron and Provenche to reconnoiter and ascertain the exact position of affairs. They proceeded unmolested as far as Stinking River, the headquarters of the insurrectionary forces, when they were stopped and conducted back over the line, under guard, and the same party then waited upon Governor McDougall and his party, and ordered them to return over the line, and gave them until nine o'clock this morning to move. Twenty mounted men, fully armed, camped on the ground, waiting to enforce their order this morning, if not complied with by the governor. This morning, however, the governor and suite returned to this side of the line. I am happy to say, however, that the whole affair was conducted in a most courteous manner; not an insult given, and no unnecessary exultations or demonstrations on either side. How the affair will terminate is difficult to tell. The insurgents seem to be determined. I am informed by Captain Donaldson and Mr. Moorehead, who have just come through from Fort Garry, that there are between four and five hundred men under arms and encamped at Stinking River. Scouts are all over the country, and all thoroughfares carefully guarded. Freighting and the ordinary pursuits of business progress as though the country was in the enjoyment of profound peace. Property is respected, and nobody interfered with who minds his own business. These are the true, unvarnished facts, as near as I can learn, without any of the embellishments of interest or prejudice. I understand the governor contemplates sending the ladies back to St. Paul to-morrow morning. He will then, most likely, await further developments before deciding upon his course."

No. 2.

Mr. Malmros to Mr. Davis.

No. 14.] CONSULATE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Winnipeg, British North America, November 6, 1869.

SIR: In continuation of the subject of my dispatch No. 10, relative to existing political dissatisfaction and possible consequent revolutionary movements in this Territory, I beg to submit the following statement of recent occurrences here.

On October 20 and 21 about two hundred armed men took an oath to resist Governor McDougall's coming into the country, and to defend the same against all Canadian pretensions to govern it.

Since then the armed force has increased to six hundred men, this number being deemed sufficient for the present for all practical purposes. This movement has the sanction of the Catholic clergy.

Governor McDougall arrived at Pembina on the 29th of October,

where he was immediately notified that the people would not allow him to enter into the Territory.

The governor accordingly left Pembina for Canada on the 3d of November.

On the 2d of November a detachment of the armed force referred to took possession of Fort Garry, which they now hold.

The discipline maintained by the armed force is admirable, and would reflect credit on any military corps in the world. This movement is not confined to the people of French extraction, on the contrary, a large majority of all other settlers either support it directly or at least sympathize with it, and the prospect now is that in a short time the country will be a unit in favor of independence. * * * * *

A provisional government will be proclaimed in a short time.

In the present condition of politics in Canada, it seems hardly likely that her parliament will permit force to be used to obtain possession of this Territory; but in case they should send troops here next summer I am inclined to think that by that time the provisional government will be fully prepared to successfully resist any invading army Canada may be able to send over British soil or waters, provided the revolutionary government is conducted in the mean time with some tact and prudence. Probably the only chance Canada might have of suppressing the revolution would be the permission of the United States to send troops over American soil—the international boundary line between this Territory and Minnesota and Dakota being close to the heart of this settlement, and the formation of the soil south of this point being such as to render the defense of the country against an invasion from the territory of the United States extremely difficult.

In that unexpected case the revolution would indeed be a failure, and the consequences to this Territory most disastrous. The seven thousand French settlers would at once take to the plains, join the Indians, and for years wage a savage warfare against the Canadian troops and the settlement.

Half of the settlement would be ruined by the mere fact of the French abandoning their homesteads, and the other half must inevitably be entirely broken up by such a war. From motives of humanity, if from none other, it is to be hoped that our government will not let Canadian troops pass through the United States, should permission be asked. Will the department be good enough to advise me of the policy of the government in this respect.

* * * * * *

I need scarcely say that I have continued to observe perfect neutrality in relation to the politics of this country. The few American residents who before my arrival were rather violent in their censure of Canada, were immediately advised by me to be guarded in their language, and to leave politics to the natives. I am glad to say that their conduct ever since has been irreproachable in this respect.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

OSCAR MALMROS,
Consul.

Hon. J. C. B. DAVIS.
Acting Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

No. 3.

Mr. Taylor to Mr. Fish.

ST. PAUL, *November* 16, 1869.

SIR: The attempt to extend the Canadian confederation over Selkirk settlement and the districts thence extending to the Rocky Mountains, meets with armed resistance from the French population, mostly of mixed Indian blood, who are more than equal in number to the English, Scotch, and American settlers. I estimate the French element at six thousand, capable of sending one thousand men into the field. Of the latter, fully one-half, mounted and armed, occupy the roads and fords between Pembina, on the international frontier, and Fort Garry—points on the Red River of the North, separated by a distance of seventy miles. They have forcibly ejected Hon. Wm. McDougall, who had passed two miles beyond the frontier, with the purpose of assuming his duties as lieutenant governor, under the dominion of Canada, on the 1st of December.

Of the situation of this Red River community, prior to the late attempt to incorporate Territory and people as part of Canada, I refer you to the following executive documents:

1. "Relations between the United States and Northwest British America."—House Executive Document (June 20, 1862) No. 146, second session of the thirty-seventh Congress.

2. "Commercial relations with British America," pp. 23–36, House Executive Document (June 12, 1866) No. 128, first session, thirty-ninth Congress.

Under the Canadian confederation act a negotiation between the English and Canadian governments and the Hudson's Bay Company recently resulted in a transfer of the territory between longitude 90° and the Rocky Mountains, hitherto claimed under the charter of the company, to Canada. The people of Selkirk had no voice in the cession. In advance of its consummation, Canadian officials appeared in the settlement, projecting roads and executing surveys of land. The Canadian parliament passed an act for a provisional government, which provided for a lieutenant governor and councilors, of his appointment, not exceeding fifteen nor less than seven in number. In the governor and council all legislative power was vested. Soon it was announced that most of these councilors would accompany the governor from Canada, thus depriving the Selkirk people of all representation, however indirectly, in their government. Other apprehensions were excited during a six months' delay in the extension of Canadian jurisdiction. The people became greatly excited with a rumor that they would be required by Canada to pay for the lands occupied by them and their ancestors for fifty years. Accustomed to a uniform duty of four per cent., the prospect of a Canadian tariff, with an average of fifteen or twenty per cent., increased the public dissatisfaction. Under these circumstances it was not difficult for a few leaders to improvise a military organization, proclaim a provisional government, and turn back the representative of the dominion of Canada at the border.

I inclose the newspaper version of the event.

Mr. Taché, the Catholic bishop at St. Boniface, is absent in Europe, and his priesthood, dissatisfied by the prospect of a large Canadian and American emigration, have taken no measures to allay the excitement among their parishioners.

Whether the officials of the Hudson's Bay Company will earnestly

support Governor McDougall is quite a problem. They were forced into the recent cession to Canada, on the payment of £300,000, and there had been previously much acrimony in the discussion. Governor McTavish, lately at the head of the company's administration, counsels peace and submission to Canadian authority; but there is unquestionably much sympathy among all classes of the population with the demands of the French insurgents. These are likely to be as follows:

1. The extension of suffrage to the half-breed population, and the concession of the right of the people to elect their own legislature.

2. The recognition of an absolute title in all existing claims of land which are accompanied by actual occupation, and the establishment of a homstead system.

3. The introduction of the American system of school endowments and grants of land for public improvements.

4. A modification of the Canadian tariff.

Upon the refusal to grant these demands, or perhaps in any event, I anticipate a strong and determined movement in favor of annexation to the United States.

Any attempt to introduce English or Canadian troops will instantly precipitate the latter result. If Central British America remains Canadian, it must be only as the result of a peaceful adjustment among the people interested.

I propose to communicate frequently with the State Department during the progress of these important events.

I venture to send duplicates of the foregoing communication to Secretary Boutwell and Senator Ramsey.

I remain yours, respectfully,

JAMES W. TAYLOR.

Hon. HAMILTON FISH.
Secretary of State.

No. 4.

Mr. Malmros to Mr. Davis.

No. 16.] CONSULATE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Winnipeg, British North America, December 4, 1869.

SIR: Since the date of my dispatch No. 14, the political state of this colony has very much changed. The leaders of the French portion of the inhabitants, ever since garrisoning Fort Garry, have committed such a long series of blunders in spite of the good advice given them, that they have estranged the by far greater portion of the English speaking population from their cause.

The spreading of many false rumors, such as that the French had taken up arms to suppress Protestantism in the settlement, and other equally absurd, and perhaps a judicious use of money, have likewise contributed to weaken the party in arms and to render a reunion of the two sections of the population improbable.

Governor McDougall, who is still at Pembina, Dakota Territory, has authorized Colonel Dennis, a Canadian, to enlist a force to disperse the rebels. Should that gentleman succeed in enlisting a force for that purpose from among the real settlers of the colony, and coercion be attempted, there is every prospect of a civil war. In case, however, Colonel Dennis should recruit largely from among lately arrived Canadian

immigrants, who as a class are much disliked, it may have the effect of arousing the entire colony in opposition to Governor McDougall and again unite the two sections of the people of the colony.

In case no coercion is attempted the rebels may be perhaps induced to let Governor McDougall in under certain conditions.

I a m, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

OSCAR MALMROS,
Consul.

Hon. J. C. B. DAVIS,
Acting Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

No. 5.

Mr. Stiles to Mr. Fish.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *December* 10, 1869.

SIR: I have the honor to inclose some official and political documents and details bearing on the Red River revolution. The telegrams coming from Toronto and Ottowa, stating that the opposition to Governor McDougall and the Dominion is dying out, and that nearly all the half-breeds have left Fort Garry for their winter hunting-grounds, are made up for effect in Washington, and are not according to the facts coming to us through other sources.

The following remarks are from an editorial in the St. Paul Free Press, and as they are based upon the letters received from three correspondents upon the ground, whose veracity the editor indorses, the statement made may be taken as a near approximation to the truth; if not indeed a faithful presentation of the actual condition of things, and of the sentiments and purposes of the people:

THE ST. PAUL FREE PRESS UPON THE RED RIVER AFFAIR—THE RED RIVER REVOLUTION.

The Toronto Globe, in an article we copy elsewhere on the expulsion of Governor McDougall from the Winnipeg country, is quite amused at the ridiculousness of the thing.

If the affected contempt is not the disguise of grave apprehensions, it is remarkable that so intelligent a journal as the Globe should have formed so inadequate a conception of the actual state of things. But if the startling intelligence heretofore made public has not brought our Canadian friends to a realizing sense of the situation, the letter we publish this morning will perhaps impress even provincial self-sufficiency with the gravity of the crisis, as we are sure they will wake up the American public to the political importance of the drama which is being enacted on the frontiers of Minnesota and Dakota, and is rapidly culminating to the point of a successful revolution. These letters are all from well-informed and reliable sources. They bring the news that on the day on which Governor McDougall and his staff were expelled by one detachment of the insurgent troops, this step was followed up by a still more decisive blow in the capture of Fort Garry, the center of the Hudson Bay Company's power and trade. It is impossible to overestimate this event. Fort Garry is about seventy miles north of Pembina. It was built many years ago by the Hudson's Bay Company as their main depot of supply for their numerous trading-posts, and as the citadel of their authority. It was the headquarters of the governor, representing the governing as well as the trading powers of the corporation. It is a strong, regular fortification, whose massive walls and bastions enclose the government house, quarters for other officials of the company, and barracks for the troops, though it has not been garrisoned for many years. This strong post, surrendered without opposition, is to be the headquarters of the provisional government, of which John Bruossé is the head. The government house, though held by the insurgents, is not yet occupied as the seat of their authority, out of a chivalrous respect for Governor McTavish, who, lying at the point of death, represents in a double sense the waning shadow of the Hudson's Bay Company's authority. In the mean time the insurgents have declared martial law, and are

taking measures to extend their government over the whole country from Red River to the Rocky Mountains. That the leaders possess resolution and capacity to carry out their purposes is indicated not only by these bold measures, but the admirable discipline which they maintain, and to which all our correspondents bear testimony. Never before was there such thorough order and such perfect security for life and property as is maintained under the *régime* of what the Toronto Globe derides as a handful of half-castes. The present insurgent force consists of six hundred armed men, bound together by a solemn oath, the import of which is conveyed in the word *Liberation*. It is the nucleus of an army—sworn to maintain independence of Canadian rule. We accept the testimony of our three intelligent and well-informed correspondents, as conclusive that the entire population is in accord with the insurrectionary movement. Six hundred—the number of Tennyson's light brigade—is not a large army, but it seems to be sufficient and overwhelmingly effective for practical purposes, and our correspondent assures us that in the spring the ranks of the insurgents are to be swelled to *three thousand men*—an army quite sufficient to defend the country against ten times their number. Our Pembina correspondents reiterate the statement that Governor McDougall—still encamped near Pembina—has sent to Canada for troops and arms to force his way into the country, and that our government is to be asked to allow their transit. In anticipation of such a request we beg to call the attention of President Grant and the Secretary of State to the grave consequences pointed out by our Fort Garry correspondent as almost certain to flow from any such action. It would not only involve the whole Red River country in the horrors of a devastating civil war, in which the Indians of the plains would become the allies of the insurgent forces, but it would call down their united vengeance on the border settlements of Minnesota and Dakota, and involve them in the atrocities of another Indian war. These considerations will be sufficient to deter our government from allowing American soil to be made a base of operations by a foreign government for a war of subjugation against a people contending for their rights. The true policy of our government is to preserve an armed neutrality, and while refusing transit to British troops, to send at once a strong garrison to Pembina as a force of observation, and to defend our own frontier against the eventualities of the revolution.

Consequences of profound importance hinge upon the policy which our government may pursue—which, if no false step be taken, will in less than three years insure the annexation to the United States of the whole immense region from Lake Superior and Hudson's Bay to the Pacific, and from the international boundary to the North Pole, and in no long time thereafter Canada and the lower provinces must gravitate by the resistless force of economic laws and political and geographical affinities, to the same great center, and round out with their annexation the *continental unity* of American dominion.

The following is a correct copy of a paper issued on the 9th of November by the president of the republic:

PUBLIC NOTICE—TO THE INHABITANTS OF RUPERT'S LAND.

The president and representatives of the French-speaking population of Rupert's Land in council: the invaders of our rights being now expelled, already aware of your sympathy, we extend the hand of fellowship to you, our friendly fellow inhabitants; and in doing so we invite you to send twelve representatives from the following places, viz: St. John's, 1; St. Margaret's, 1; Headingly, 1; St. James, 1; St. Mary's, 1; Keldonan, 1; St. Paul's, 1; St. Andrew's, 1; St. Clement's, 1; St. Peter's, 1; town of Winnipeg, 2, in order to form one body with the above council, consisting of twelve members, to consider the present political state of this country, and to adopt such measures as may be deemed best for the future welfare of the same. A meeting of the above council will be held in the court-house in Fort Garry, on Tuesday, the 16th day of November, at which the invited representatives will attend.

By order of the president:

LOUIS RIEL, *Secretary.*

WINNIPEG, *November* 6, 1869.

The convention was held, lasting several days, but of its decisions I have no reliable information. A private letter printed in the Montreal Herald says:

A flag has been adopted, which is composed of a white ground, upon which are displayed three crosses—the center one large and scarlet-colored—the side ones smaller and gold-colored. A golden fringe binds the white ground.

I hear that there is to be a proclamation, and that the reasons assigned for rising will be that their consent was not asked by the Canadian people—that they were "sold like so many sheep;" that the Canadian government should, before entering into ne-

gotiations with the Hudson's Bay Company, have consulted the natives of the country, and that if this had been done, they would have listened to what the commissioners of the government had to say; but having been transferred in the way they were, nothing was left to them as brave men but to resent the insult.

The following is a copy of the letter handed to Governor McDougall on his arrival upon the Red River territory:

BRITISH TERRITORY, NEAR PEMBINA, D. T.,
September 2, 1869.

SIR: The undersigned represent the Chippewa Indians, who own and occupy a large portion of the country known as the Hudson's Bay Company's Territory, or Rupert's Land.

We take the liberty to inform your excellency on your arrival on the international boundary line, and in the name of our people, to request your excellency to remain for a few days at or near the Fort of the Hudson's Bay Company, (near Pembina,) in order to afford our chiefs and old men the opportunity to meet your excellency in general council, that we may learn from you the intention of the government you represent, respecting our people and our land.

We have heard that the said government has purchased certain interests of the Hudson's Bay Company, but we have not been informed *what* those interests are. Said interests could not have been lands, for the simple reason that said company (according to the statement of our old men) obtained from our people only the right to occupy for a time a certain district of country on and near the Red River.

White men have been sent by the government which your excellency represents, and have been dividing our Territory into small lots, for the purpose, as we are told, of selling them to white men. And all this is being done without consulting us, without treaty stipulations, and as though these lands already belonged to your government.

Hence we insist upon a general council, and a full and satisfactory understanding *before* your excellency, in the name of your government, assumes possession of this Territory.

Our people greatly prefer to maintain friendly relations to your excellency, and the government you represent; and we well know that this can only be done by a thorough and amicable adjustment of our respective rights by a written treaty.

Our people know that we have the rights, and we are united as one man in the determination to defend them at all hazards; and for the sake of our people, as well as for the best interests of your excellency and the government you represent, we trust that our rights will be fully respected, and that we may be able to extend to you the right hand of fellowship.

On our own behalf, as well as the people we represent, we beg your excellency will accept our kindest regards.

PIE-WASCH.
CHA-WA-WE-ASCH.

His Excellency Governor MCDOUGALL.

The demands then made by the insurgents were briefly as follows:

1. The right to elect their own legislature.
2. That the legislature shall have power to pass an act of local nature, by a two-thirds vote over the veto of the executive.
3. No law of local nature to be binding until sanctioned by the legislature.
4. A free homestead and pre-emption law.
5. An Indian policy calculated to insure good will and quiet in the Territory.
6. All the executive, legislative, civil, and military expenses, for a given number of years, to be paid out of the Dominion treasury.
7. An appropriation to be expended in the internal improvements in the Territory.

After placing these guarantees beyond peradventure, than the proposition of annexation to the Dominion to be submitted to a vote of the people.

William McTavish, governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, or, as he signs himself, "of Assinaboia," is quite ill, and reported to be in a dying condition. He issued a proclamation on the 16th of November, in which,

after citing the violations of law and depredations of the insurgents, he says:

The persons who have been foremost in committing these unlawful deeds have resorted to acts which directly tend to involve themselves in consequences of the gravest nature, and to bring upon the colony and the country at large the evils of anarchy and the horrors of war. Therefore, in the interests of law and order, and in behalf of all the securities you have for life and property—in a word, for the sake of the present and future welfare of the settlement and its inhabitants, I again earnestly and emphatically protest against each and all of these unlawful acts. I charge those engaged in them, before they are irretrievably and hopelessly involved, immediately to disperse themselves to their homes, and to their lawful business, under the pains and penalties of the law; and whatever in other respects may be the conclusion of those who meet to deliberate upon the present critical and distracted state of our public affairs, I beg you as citizens, having the interests of your country and kindred at heart, to ratify and proclaim with all the might of your respective voices this public notice and protest, and so avert from the country a succession of evils of which those which see the beginning may never see the end. You are dealing with a crisis out of which may come incalculable good or immeasurable evil; and with all the weight of my official authority, and all the influence of my individual position, let me finally tell you to adopt only such means as are lawful and constitutional, rational and safe.

Given under my hand and seal, at Fort Garry, this 16th day of November, 1869.

WM. McTAVISH,
Governor of Assiniboia.

CHICAGO, *December* 2.

A special from St. Paul states that letters have been received from Fort Garry, dated November 16 and 20. The council of the insurgent half-breeds met on the 15th, but after some consultation adjourned until the 18th. Governor McTavish's proclamation was circulated among them with what correspondents call marked effect. A letter of the 20th declares that the Red River people will never submit to receive Mr. McDougall unless overpowered by the Canadian government. The letter also states that a sufficiently large force of insurgents are in arms to protect their frontier from any force that can be sent against them.

In another letter I will inclose some extracts, showing the sentiments of the people in Minnesota, Canada, and the maritime provinces, in reference to the Red River revolution.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

JOHN STILES.

Hon. HAMILTON FISH,
Secretary of State.

No. 6.

Mr. Malmros to Mr. Davis.

CONSULATE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Winnipeg, British North America, December 11, 1869.

SIR: Colonel Dennis, the recruiting officer named in my dispatch No. 16, issued on the 6th instant the order contained in inclosure No. 2. He has entirely failed to get recruits willing to take up arms for Governor McDougall's proposed government. On the contrary, this open attempt, and several clandestine ones, to create civil war in the colony, has created great and almost universal indignation towards Mr. McDougall. On the 8th instant a band of fifty Canadians, who had taken up arms against the revolutionists, surrendered unconditionally, and are now held as prisoners of war. In consequence of this event, and his entire failure to enlist recruits, Colonel Dennis, on the 9th instant, issued the order contained in inclosure No. 3.

Immediately on the issue of Colonel Dennis's first order, the insur-

rectionists resolved not to treat with Governor McDougall under any circumstances. It is credibly reported that Colonel Dennis will leave this country in two or three days, if he can obtain a safe conduct to Pembina. On yesterday the insurrectionists adopted, and raised under military honors, a flag of their own, not very happily conceived; it consists of the "*fleurs de lis*" of ancient France, and a harp and shamrock. The revolutionists fulfill the principal function of the government, protection of persons and property, in a highly satisfactory degree.

* * * * * * *

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

OSCAR MALMROS,
Consul.

Hon. J. C. B. DAVIS,
Acting Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

[Inclosure No. 1.]

DECLARATION OF THE PEOPLE OF RUPERT'S LAND AND THE NORTHWEST.

Whereas it is admitted by all men as a fundamental principle, that the public authority commands the obedience and respect of its subjects; it is also admitted that a people, when it has no government, is free to adopt one form of government in preference to another, to give or to refuse allegiance to that which is proposed. In accordance with the above first principle, the people of this country had obeyed and respected that authority to which the circumstances surrounding its infancy compelled it to be subject.

A company of adventurers known as the "Hudson's Bay Company," and invested with certain powers granted by his Majesty, (Charles II,) established itself in Rupert's Land and in the Northwest Territory, for trading purposes only. This company, consisting of many persons, required a certain constitution. But as there was a question of commerce only, their constitution was framed in reference thereto. Yet, since there was at that time no government to see to the interests of a people already existing in the country, it became necessary for judicial affairs to have recourse to the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company. Thus inaugurated that species of government which, slightly modified by subsequent circumstances, ruled this country up to a recent date.

Whereas that government, thus accepted, was far from answering to the wants of the people, and became more and more so as the population increased in numbers, and as the country was developed, and commerce extended, until the present day, when it commands a place among the colonies; and this people, ever actuated by the above-mentioned principles, had generously supported the aforesaid government, and gave to it a faithful allegiance; when, contrary to the law of nations, in March, 1869, that said government surrendered and transferred to Canada all the rights which it had or pretended to have in this Territory, by transactions with which the people were considered unworthy to be made acquainted.

And whereas it is also generally admitted that a people is at liberty to establish any form of government it may consider suitable to its wants, as soon as the power to which it was subject abandons it, or attempts to subjugate it without its consent to a foreign power, and maintain that no right can be transferred to such foreign power: Now, therefore,

1st. We, the representatives of the people in council assembled at Upper Fort Garry, on the 24th day of November, 1869, after having invoked the God of nations, relying on these fundamental moral principles, solemnly declare in the name of our constituents and in our own names, before God and man, that from the day on which the government we had always respected abandoned us, by transferring to a strange power the sacred authority confided to it, the people of Rupert's Land and the Northwest became free and exempt from all allegiance to the said government.

2d. That we refuse to recognize the authority of Canada, which pretends to have a right to coerce us and impose upon us a despotic form of government, still more contrary to our rights and interests as British subjects than was that government to which we had subjected ourselves through necessity up to a recent date.

3d. That by sending an expedition on the 1st of November ultimo, charged to drive back Mr. William McDougall and his companions, coming in the name of Canada to rule us with the rod of despotism, without a previous notification to that effect, we have but acted conformably to that sacred right which commands every citizen to offer energetic opposition to prevent his country being enslaved.

4th. That we continue and shall continue to oppose with all our strength the establishing of the Canadian authority in our country under the announced form. And in case of persistence on the part of the Canadian government to enforce its obnoxious policy upon us by force of arms, we protest beforehand against such an unjust and unlawful course, and we declare the said Canadian government responsible before God and men for the innumerable evils which may be caused by so unwarrantable a course.

Be it known therefore to the world in general, and to the Canadian government in particular, that as we have always heretofore successfully defended our country in frequent wars with the neighboring tribes of Indians, who are now on friendly relations with us, we are firmly resolved in future, not less than in the past, to repel all invasions from whatsoever quarter they may come.

And furthermore we do declare and proclaim, in the name of the people of Rupert's Land and the Northwest, that we have on the said 24th day of November, 1869, above mentioned, established a provisional government, and hold it to be the only and lawful authority now in existence in Rupert's Land and the Northwest, which claims the obedience and respect of the people.

That meanwhile we hold ourselves in readiness to enter into such negotiations with the Canadian government as may be favorable for the good government and prosperity of this people.

In support of this declaration, relying on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge ourselves, on oath, our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor to each other.

Issued at Fort Garry this 8th day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine.

JOHN BRUCE,
President.

LOUIS RIEL, *Secretary.*

[Inclosure No. 2.]

THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES.

By his excellency the honorable William McDougall, a member of our privy council for Canada, and Companion of our most honorable Order of the Bath, lieutenant governor of the Northwest Territories.

To John Stoughton Dennis, esquire, lieutenant colonel militia staff, Canada, greeting:

Whereas large bodies of armed men have unlawfully assembled on the high road between Fort Garry and Pembina in the colony or district of Assiniboia, and have with force and arms arrested and held as prisoners numerous private and official persons, and prevented them from proceeding on their lawful journey and business, and have committed other acts of lawless violence, in contempt and defiance of the magistrates and local authorities.

And whereas William McTavish, esquire, governor of Assiniboia, did, on the 16th day of November last, publish and make known to those armed men and all others whom it might concern, that the lawless acts aforesaid, and which were particularly set forth in his proclamation, were "contrary to the remonstrances and protests of the public authorities," and did therein himself protest against each and all of the said unlawful acts and intents, and charged and commanded the said armed persons to immediately disperse themselves and peaceably to depart to their habitations or lawful business under the pains and penalties of the law.

And whereas, since the issue of the said protest or proclamation, certain of the armed men aforesaid have taken possession of the public records and papers at Fort Garry, and have seized and held as prisoners public officers or persons having charge of the same, and, as I am credibly informed, still keep unlawful possession of the said records and public property, and with force and arms continue to obstruct public officers and others in the performance of their lawful duty and business, to the great terror, loss, and injury of her Majesty's peaceable subjects, and in contempt of her royal authority.

And whereas her Majesty, by letters patent under the great seal of the Dominion of Canada, bearing date the twenty-ninth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine, has been graciously pleased to appoint me to be, from and after the 1st day of December instant, lieutenant governor of the Northwest Territories, and did thereby authorize and command me to do and execute all things in due manner that should belong to my said command—

Know you, that reposing trust and confidence in your courage, loyalty, fidelity, discretion, and ability, and under and by virtue of the authority in me vested, I have nominated and appointed, and by these presents do nominate and appoint you, the said John Stoughton Dennis, to be my lieutenant and a conservator of the peace in and for the Northwest Territories, and as such to raise, organize, arm, equip, and provision

a sufficient force within the said Territories, and with the said force to attack, arrest, disarm, or disperse the said armed men so unlawfully assembled and disturbing the public peace, and for that purpose and with the force aforesaid to assault, fire upon, pull down or break into any fort, house, stronghold or other place in which the said armed men may be found; and I hereby authorize you as such lieutenant and conservator of the peace to hire, purchase, impress, and take all necessary clothing, arms, ammunition, and supplies, and all cattle, horses, wagons, sleighs, or other vehicles which may be required for the use of the force to be raised as aforesaid; and I further authorize you to appoint as many officers and deputies under you, and to give them such orders and instructions from time to time as may be found necessary for the due performance of the service herein required of you, reporting to me the said appointments and orders as you shall find opportunity, for confirmation or otherwise; and I hereby give you full power and authority to call upon all magistrates and peace officers to aid and assist you, and to order all or any of the inhabitants of the said Northwest Territories, in the name of her Majesty the Queen, to support and assist you in protecting the lives and property of her Majesty's loyal subjects, and in preserving the public peace, and for that purpose to take, disperse, or overcome by force the said armed men and all others who may be found aiding or abetting them in their unlawful acts.

And the said persons so called upon in her Majesty's name are hereby ordered and enjoined at their peril to obey your orders and directions in that behalf, and this shall be sufficient warrant for what you or they may do in the premises so long as this commission remains in force.

Given under my hand and seal at arms at Red River in the said Territories, this first day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine, and in the thirty-third year of our reign.

WILLIAM McDOUGALL.

By command:

J. A. N. PROVENCHER,
Secretary.

By virtue of the above commission from the lieutenant governor, I now hereby call on and order all loyal men of the Northwest Territories to assist me by every means in their power to carry out the same, and thereby uphold the supremacy of the Queen in this part of her Majesty's dominions.

Given under my hand at the Stone Fort, Lower Settlement, this 6th day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine.

J. S. DENNIS,
Lieutenant and Conservator of the Peace in and for the Northwest Territories.

[Inclosure No. 3.]

LOWER FORT GARRY,
Red River Settlement, December 9, 1869.

To all whom it may concern:

By certain printed papers of late put in circulation by the French party, communication with the lieutenant governor is indicated with a view to laying before him alleged rights on the part of those now in arms.

I think that course very desirable, and that it would lead to good results.

Under the belief that the party in arms are sincere in their desire for peace, and feeling that to abandon for the present the call on the loyal to arms would, in view of such communication, relieve the situation of much embarrassment, and so contribute to bring about peace, and save the country from what will otherwise end in ruin and desolation, I now call on and order the loyal party in the Northwest Territories to cease further action under the appeal to arms made by me; and I call on the French party to satisfy the people of their sincerity in wishing for a peaceful ending of all these troubles by sending a deputation to the lieutenant governor at Pembina, without unnecessary delay.

Given under my hand at the Lower Fort Garry this 9th day of December, 1869.

J. S. DENNIS,
Lieutenant and Conservator of the Peace in and for the Northwest Territories.

No. 7.

[From Statutes of Canada, chap. III, 2d sess., 1 Parl., 32, 33, Victoria, 1869.]

AN ACT for the temporary government of Rupert's Land and the Northwestern Territory when united with Canada. Assented to 22d of June, 1869.

Whereas it is probable that her Majesty the Queen may, pursuant to "the British North American Act, 1867," be pleased to admit Rupert's Land and the Northwestern Territory into the Union or Dominion of Canada, before the next session of the Canadian parliament.

And whereas it is expedient to prepare for the transfer of the said Territories from the local authorities to the government of Canada, at the time appointed by the Queen for such admission, and to make some temporary provision for the civil government of such Territories until more permanent arrangements can be made by the government and legislature of Canada.

Therefore, her Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, enact as follows:

1. The said Territories when admitted as aforesaid, shall be styled and known as "the Northwest Territories."

2. It shall be lawful by the governor, by any order or orders to be by him from time to time made, with the advice of the privy council, (and subject to such conditions and restrictions as to him shall seem meet,) to authorize and empower such officer as he may from time to time appoint as lieutenant governor of the Northwest Territories, to make provision for the administration of justice therein, and generally to make, ordain, and establish all such laws, institutions, and ordinances as may be necessary for the peace, order, and good government of her Majesty's subjects and others therein, provided that all such orders in council, and all laws and ordinances so to be made as aforesaid, shall be laid before both houses of Parliament as soon as conveniently may be after the making and enactment thereof respectively.

3. The lieutenant governor shall administer the government under instructions from time to time given him by order in council.

4. The governor may, with the advice of the privy council, constitute and appoint by warrant, under his sign manual, a council of not exceeding fifteen, nor less than seven persons, to aid the lieutenant governor in the administration of affairs, with such powers as may be from time to time conferred upon them by order in council.

4. All the laws in force in Rupert's Land and the Northwestern Territory at the time of their admission into the Union shall, so far as they are consistent with "the British North American Act, 1867," with the terms and conditions of such admission approved of by the Queen, under the 146th section thereof, and with this act remain in force until altered by the Parliament of Canada, or by the lieutenant governor, under the authority of this act.

All public officers and functionaries holding office in Rupert's Land and the Northwestern Territory at the time of their admission into the Union, excepting the public officer or functionary at the head of the administration of affairs, shall continue to be public officers and functionaries of the Northwest Territories, with the same duties and powers as before, until otherwise ordered by the lieutenant governor, under the authority of this act.

7. This act shall continue in force until the end of the next session of Parliament.

No. 8.

[Canadian Act, Cap. C V, 31 and 32 Vict., 1867-8.]

AN ACT for enabling her Majesty to accept a surrender upon terms of the land, privileges, and rights of "The Governor and Company of Adventurers of *England*, trading into *Hudson's Bay*," and for admitting the same into the Dominion of Canada. [31st July, 1868.]

Whereas by certain letters patent, granted by his late Majesty King *Charles* the Second, in the twenty-second year of his reign, certain persons therein named were incorporated by the name of The Governor and Company of Adventurers of *England*, trading into *Hudson's Bay*, and certain lands and territories, rights of government and other rights, privileges, liberties, franchises, powers, and authorities were thereby granted or purported to be granted to the said governor and company, in his Majesty's dominions in *North America*;

And whereas by the British North American act, 1837, it was (among other things) enacted that it should be lawful for her Majesty, by and with the advice and

consent of her Majesty's most honorable privy council, on address from the houses of the Parliament of *Canada*, to admit *Rupert's Land* and the Northwestern Territory or either of them into the Union, on such terms and conditions as are in the address expressed, and her Majesty thinks fit to approve, subject to the provisions of said act;

And whereas, for the purpose of carrying into effect the provisions of the said *British North American* act, 1867, and of admitting *Rupert's* Land into the said Dominion as aforesaid, upon such terms as her Majesty thinks fit to approve, it is expedient that the said lands, territories, rights, privileges, liberties, franchises, powers, and authorities, so far as the same have been lawfully granted to the said company, should be surrendered to her Majesty, her heirs and successors, upon such terms and conditions as may be agreed upon by and between her Majesty and the said governor and company, as hereinafter mentioned:

Be it therefore enacted by the Queen's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:

1. This act may be cited as "Rupert's Land Act, 1868."

2. For the purposes of this act, the term "Rupert's Land" shall include the whole of the lands and territories held or claimed to be held by the said governor and company.

3. It shall be competent for the said governor and company to surrender to her Majesty, and for her Majesty, by any instrument under her sign manual, to accept a surrender of all or any of the lands, territories, rights, privileges, liberties, franchises, powers, and authorities whatsoever, granted or purported to be granted by the said letters patent to the said governor and company within *Rupert's Land*, upon such terms and conditions as shall be agreed upon by and between her Majesty and the said governor and company: Provided, however, that such surrender shall not be accepted by her Majesty until the terms and conditions upon which *Rupert's Land* shall be admitted into the said Dominion of Canada shall have been approved of by her Majesty, and embodied in an address to her Majesty from both the houses of the Parliament of *Canada*, in pursuance of the one hundred and forty-sixth section of the *British North American* act, 1867; and that the said surrender and acceptance thereof shall be null and void, unless within a month from the date of such acceptance her Majesty does, by order in council, under the provisions of the said last recited act, admit *Rupert's Land* into the said Dominion: Provided, further, that no charge shall be imposed by such terms upon the consolidated fund of the United Kingdom.

4. Upon the acceptance by her Majesty of such surrender, all rights of government and proprietary rights and all other privileges, liberties, franchises, powers and authorities whatsoever granted or purported to be granted by the said letters patent to the said governor and company within *Rupert's Land*, and which shall have been so surrendered, shall be absolutely extinguished: Provided, that nothing herein contained shall prevent the said governor and company from continuing to carry on, in *Rupert's Land* or elsewhere, trade and commerce.

5. It shall be competent to her Majesty, by any such order or orders in council as aforesaid, on address from the houses of the Parliament of *Canada*, to declare that *Rupert's Land* shall, from a date to be therein mentioned, be admitted and become part of the Dominion of *Canada*, and thereupon it shall be lawful for the Parliament of Canada, from the date aforesaid, to make, ordain, and establish within the land and territory so admitted as aforesaid, all such laws, institutions, and ordinances, and to constitute such courts and officers as may be necessary for the peace, order, and good government of her Majesty's subjects and others therein: Provided, that, until otherwise enacted by the said Parliament of *Canada*, all the powers, authorities and jurisdiction of the several courts of justice now established in *Rupert's Land*, and of the several officers thereof, and of all magistrates and justices now acting within the said limits, shall continue in full force and effect therein.

No. 9.

Mr. Taylor to Mr. Fish.

ST. PAUL, *January* 20, 1870.

SIR: On the 16th of November I communicated to the Department of State the intelligence that the French population of Selkirk settlement had forcibly resisted the attempt to incorporate the territory, extending from longitude ninety degrees to the Rocky Mountains, as part of the Dominion of Canada. On Tuesday, November 2, a body of insurgents,

armed and mounted, surrounded Fort Pembina, a post of the Hudson's Bay Company, two miles north of a point where the international frontier crosses the Red River of the North, and ordered Hon. William McDougall, who was on his way to assume the position of lieutenant governor of the Northwest Territories by appointment of the Canadian government, and was the guest of the officers of Fort Pembina, to recross the international frontier.

The commission of Mr. McDougall had not taken effect; but he proposed on the 1st of December to issue a proclamation taking formal possession of the country in the name of Canada, and assuming the duties of lieutenant governor. Before that day he anticipated a proclamation of the Queen of England, announcing the formal transfer of the country included in the charter of the Hudson's Bay Company to the Dominion of Canada, a negotiation to that effect being on the point of consummation. The fact and the terms of this transfer, the legislation in anticipation of it by Canada, and the action of Mr. McDougall under his prospective appointment of lieutenant governor, excited so much dissatisfaction among the people of Selkirk, that an organization was effected to resist by force the inauguration of the Canadian authority over the region known as Hudson's Bay Territory, or Rupert's Land.

A parley having proved ineffectual, Mr. McDougall, who had no adequate means of resistance, was escorted to the American settlement of Pembina, in the Territory of Dakota, where he remained until Saturday, the 18th of December, when he left for Canada. His secretary, J. A. N. Provencher, esq., had been previously dispatched as an envoy to the French population, but he was stopped at St. Norbert, a settlement about ten miles south of Fort Garry, and was returned a prisoner to Fort Pembina, and compelled to leave the country with Mr. McDougall. The party of the latter, who were thus forced upon American territory, consisted, in addition to himself, family, and servants, of J. A. N. Provencher, esq., provincial secretary, A. N. Richards, esq., attorney general, Captain Cameron, and Dr. Jackes; (these four gentlemen having been designated, as was rumored, to be members of the legislative council under the Canadian act organizing the Territory;) Alexander Biggs, collector of customs; and Colonel J. S. Dennis, surveyor general. Their removal was effected by a detachment of thirty armed men. No violence was offered. Mr. McDougall's explanations and remonstrances were courteously received. He is of the impression that they produced a temporary effect on the evening of November 1, but at 9 o'clock next morning the order of expulsion was firmly executed.

On the same day, November 2, Fort Garry, seventy miles north of the international frontier, was occupied by about fifty insurgents. During the morning they had dropped into the walled inclosure of the post, either singly or in small groups, and about noon, at a signal, possession was taken without a struggle. Hon. William McTavish, chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, and governor of the colony of Assiniboia, was confined to one of the barracks by illness, and no intrusion upon him was suffered. There were no English or Canadian troops at Fort Garry or any other point in the settlement, and while, as a result of a previous organization, perhaps four hundred men were in arms to support the insurrection, the decisive events of the expulsion of Mr. McDougall and the capture of Fort Garry were accomplished by less than a fourth of that force.

The situation is not materially changed at the expiration of two months; but before proceeding with the narrative of subsequent occurrences, it is proposed to describe the people of Selkirk, the relations of

the Hudson's Bay Company to them, and the policy of Canada which has led to existing complications.

THE PEOPLE OF SELKIRK.

Of a population of twelve thousand, fully one-half are the descendants of those Canadian traders who have been the pioneers of European civilization along the lakes of the North and the great interior rivers of the continent. As early as 1662, the site of Fort Garry was occupied as a French post. Fort La Reine and similar trading stations existed on the east side of Lake Winnipeg and on the Lake of the Woods. A hundred years afterward Canadian traders explored the Saskatchewan and English Rivers; and in 1787 the Northwest Fur Company was organized, and concentrated the whole fur product of the rivers and lakes from Lake Superior to the Arctic Ocean at Montreal. The officers and employés of this company occupied every prominent locality in the basin of Lake Winnipeg and in the valley of the Mackenzie River, and when Lord Selkirk induced his associates of the Hudson's Bay Company to extend their posts from the coast of Hudson's Bay, and organize a colony on the Red River of the North, the Canadians were already on the ground, in the first place resisting, but afterward becoming parties to the proposed colonization.

The limits of the grant by the Hudson's Bay Company to Lord Selkirk were nearly coterminous with the Red River Valley, full half of the area being now included in the State of Minnesota. It was executed in 1811, and in the autumn of 1812 a detachment of emigrants from the highlands of Scotland arrived on the banks of the Red River, near the mouth of the Assiniboine. Other parties followed from Scotland, the Orkney Islands, and even from Switzerland. Their descendants constitute about one-fourth of the present population of the Selkirk settlement. The remaining three thousand are divided equally between English settlers, emigrants from Canada or the descendants of retired officers of the company, and American emigrants from the adjacent State of Minnesota.

The French population are Catholics. The cathedral of St. Boniface, with its monastery, nunnery, and schools, occupies the eastern bank of the Red River, opposite Fort Garry and the confluence of the Assiniboine River. The bishop, M. Tache, is of a prominent family of Lower Canada. He devoted his youth to missionary labors on the Saskatchewan River, from which he was called to his episcopate. He is a man of great energy and intelligence, and, ten years ago, wrote much and labored assiduously to bring the Red River country to the notice of the French public of Lower Canada, but recently it is understood that he has regarded the emigration from Upper Canada or Ontario with considerable distrust. He has been absent in Europe for some months, and is at present in Rome. The east bank of the Red River and the settlements south of the Assiniboine are organized as Catholic parishes and are exclusively occupied by the French population.

The descendants of the early Scotch settlers occupy the parish of Kildonan, immediately north of Fort Garry. They are Presbyterian, and exhibit the thrift, intelligence, probity, and prejudices characteristic of the people of Scotland. Adjacent to them, on the north and west, are the English population, while the more recent settlement, thirty to fifty miles westward, upon the Assiniboine river, represents all the foregoing constituents of population.

The American adventurers who have become identified with this com-

munity during the last fifteen years are not at all isolated. They sustain personal and business relations with all classes, and have a proportionate influence.

Probably no similar population in the world are better provided with religious and educational institutions. Trade has been free for years, notwithstanding the restrictive terms of the charter of the Hudson's Bay Company. The traffic in furs has been very productive, and there are frequent instances of affluence.

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY.

The relations of this corporation to the people of Selkirk are quite anomalous. Full details of the history of that remarkable organization are reserved for another paper; but it is pertinent at present to observe, that from 1670 to 1812, there was no serious attempt on the part of the company to penetrate the interior. Their posts were in the immediate vicinity of Hudson's Bay, while the immense districts of the Winnipeg and Mackenzie basins were occupied by the Canadians, or the Northwest Company. Lord Selkirk's colonization of Red River was accompanied by a vigorous rivalry with the Northwest Company, leading to many collisions, until, in 1821, the latter organization was merged, mainly by the influence of the late Edward Ellice, for many years a prominent member of the English Parliament, in the Hudson's Bay Company. The traditions of this struggle remain in the Selkirk colony. The régime of the Hudson's Bay Company, although in many respects wise and politic, has never been popular with the Canadian, or old Northwest element, on Red River. A large portion of the trade of the settlement remained in the hands of the free traders, or parties disconnected with the company; and when the Hudson's Bay Company sought to discharge the trust of civil government, it proved extremely difficult to reconcile the function of legislator and magistrate with that of the chief trader in the community.

The form of government thus established has been very simple. The settlements upon the Red River, from the international boundary at Pembina to the mouth of the river in Lake Winnipeg, and upon the Assiniboine for a distance of sixty miles west of its junction with the Red River at Fort Garry, have acquired a civil organization under appointment of the Hudson's Bay Company, which is officially designated as the "Colony of Assiniboia." In the council thus organized, consisting of the chief factor at Fort Garry, who was acting governor, the English and Catholic bishops, and nine prominent inhabitants, all legislative power was vested, and five of the councilors were constituted magistrates, holding monthly courts in as many districts—the council sitting occasionally as a court of appeal, and for the trial of persons charged with felony. At different periods this criminal jurisdiction has been shared by a recorder. The revenue of the colony was received from an impost of four per cent., levied impartially on all goods, whether brought from England, Canada, or the United States, and with no discrimination in favor of the Hudson's Bay Company. The company, also, within the limits of Assiniboia at least, was always ready to sell land at seven shillings sterling per acre, with liberal periods of credit and low rates of interest. Practically, a large portion of the people held whatever land they chose to occupy, by sufferance of the company. It will be seen that an apprehension of the disturbance of these possessory rights, under Canadian authority, had much to do with the recent outbreak.

For a long time previous to 1859 the Hudson's Bay Company held an exclusive license of trade in districts beyond their chartered limits; namely, in the region now known as British Columbia and the adjacent islands, and in the valley of the Mackenzie, and other Arctic districts. This license expiring on the 30th of May, 1859, Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, then colonial minister of England, refused to renew it, confining the company to their claim under the charter of 1670, of exclusive trade and territorial dominion on the shores of Hudson's Bay and the districts drained by tributary rivers. The legality and scope of this charter had been contested by Canada; but, upon the whole, the legal opinion of England was on the side of the company. Still, in 1857, a parliamentary commission, after an exhaustive inquiry, reported that the districts on the Red River and Saskatchewan were suitable for agricultural settlement, and expressed a trust that there would be no difficulty in effecting arrangements between her Majesty's government and the Hudson's Bay Company, by which those districts might be ceded to Canada on equitable principles.

This report of 1857 was the starting-point of a Canadian agitation for the cession of what has been called the "Fertile Belt," or a zone of the North American continent between latitudes 49° and 55°, and embracing the Red River and Saskatchewan valleys east of the Rocky Mountains, and the area on their western slope since organized as British Columbia. As to the territory north of the parallel of 55°, there was general acquiescence in the opinion that the administration of the Hudson's Bay Company was best adapted to the condition of the country and its inhabitants.

NORTHWEST EXTENSION OF CANADA.

At this period, the relations of Canada to the Hudson's Bay Company and the Winnipeg districts come prominently to view. The Canadian government dispatched a party of exploration, under the direction of S. M. Dawson, esq., civil engineer, and Professor J. Y. Hinds, who devoted the years 1858–'9 to a thorough survey of a route from Thunder Bay, on Lake Superior, to Fort Garry, and of the Red River and Assiniboine districts, adjacent to Minnesota and Dakota. Simultaneously, the English colonial office dispatched Captain John Pallisser upon an exploration of practicable routes between Canada and the Red River settlement, but chiefly of the true nature of the great prairie region watered by the Saskatchewan and its affluents, and of the communications westward through passes of the Rocky Mountains with the British sea-board of the North Pacific. The general results of these explorations were unfavorable to the construction of a railroad or other communication on British territory between Canada and the Winnipeg basin, but indicated that the great plains of Northern Minnesota present the most direct and practicable route from Canada, as well as from the United States, to Northwest British America. It was ascertained that, northwest of Minnesota, the country reaching from the Selkirk settlement to the Rocky Mountains, and from latitude 49° to 53° on the longitude of 94°, and to latitude 55° on the Pacific coast, is as favorable to grain and animal production as any of the Northern States; that the mean temperature for spring, summer, and autumn, observed on the 42d and 43d parallels in New York, Michigan, and Wisconsin, has been accurately traced through Fort Snelling and the valley of the Saskatchewan to latitude 55° on the Pacific coast; and that from the northwest boundary of Minnesota this whole district of British America is threaded

in all directions by the navigable water-lines which converge to Lake Winnipeg. It was established that the sources of the Saskatchewan have an average elevation above the sea far less than in American territory; that the Rocky Mountains are diminished in width, while the passes are not difficult; that the supply of rain is more abundant, and the carboniferous and silurian formations of greater extent than further south; and owing to the greater influence of the Pacific winds through the mountain gorges, and the reduced altitude, that the climate is no material obstacle to civilized occupation.*

The publications which followed and illustrated these expeditions, and a series of reports by the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce and the legislature of Minnesota, so fully dispelled misapprehension and prejudice in regard to the great northwestern areas, that the Hudson's Bay Company was constrained, in 1863, to announce a new and enlarged policy, "in accordance (to quote the circular of the new directory) with the industrial spirit of the age and the rapid advancement which colonization has made in the countries adjacent to the Hudson's Bay territories." Dr. John Rae, the celebrated arctic explorer, was charged with the survey of a telegraph line from Selkirk to the mouth of the Frazer River; his report was favorable, and the material was purchased and forwarded to Fort Garry and Victoria, on Vancouver's Island. Steamboat navigation on Lake Winnipeg and the Saskatchewan, and a general system of land surveys and bounties to settlers, were also proposed; and very confident assurances were proclaimed that the modernized Hudson's Bay Company would become a most efficient agent of immigration and colonization.

The new impulse proved feeble and ineffective. The telegraphic material remained in warehouses; the rest of the programme was relinquished; and the proposition for the transfer of the country to Canada revived with greatly increased force. The plan for a confederation of the provinces, proposed by the Quebec conference of October 10, 1864, which was afterwards embodied in an act of the imperial parliament, contained a provision that "the Northwest Territory, British Columbia and Vancouver, shall be admitted into the union on such terms and conditions as the parliament of the federal provinces shall deem equitable, and as shall receive the assent of her Majesty, and in the case of the province of British Columbia and Vancouver, as shall be agreed to by the legislature of such province."

One of the first acts of the parliament of the Dominion of Canada, after the inauguration of the confederation, was to make a formal overture to the Queen in council for the annexation of the Northwest Territory; but the home government, having on several occasions recognized the validity, either by its terms or by prescription, of the charter of the Hudson's Bay Company, assumed the burden of negotiation with its directory. Canada was represented at London by astute commissioners, (among them Sir George Cartier and Hon. William McDougall,) and it was not until 1869 that the acquiescence of all parties was secured to the terms of cession. The ultimatum of the government was communicated on the 9th of March, 1869, by the colonial minister, the Earl of Granville, to Sir Stafford Northcote, governor general of the Hudson's Bay Company, and consisted of the following articles:

1. The Hudson's Bay Company to surrender to her Majesty all the rights of government, property, &c., in Rupert's Land, which are specified in the 31 and 32 Vic. c. 105, sec. 4; and also of similar rights in any other part of British North America, not comprised in Rupert's Land, Canada, or British Columbia.

* See Foreign and Domestic Commerce of United States. Senate document, 1864; p. 219.

2. Canada is to pay the company £300,000 when Rupert's Land is transferred to the Dominion of Canada.

3. The company may, within twelve months of the surrender, select a block of land adjoining each of its stations, within the limits specified in article 1.

4. The size of the blocks is not to exceed —— acres in the Red River territory, nor three thousand acres beyond that territory, and the aggregate extent of the blocks is not to exceed fifty thousand acres.

5. So far as the configuration of the country admits, the blocks are to be in the shape of parallelograms, of which the length is not more than double the breadth.

6. The Hudson's Bay Company may, for fifty years after the surrender, claim, in any township or district within the fertile belt in which land is set out for settlement, grants of land not exceeding one twentieth part of the land so set out. The blocks so granted to be determined by lot, and the Hudson's Bay Company to pay a rateable share of the survey expenses, not exceeding —— an acre.

7. For the purpose of the present agreement, the fertile belt is to be bounded as follows: On the south by the United States boundary; on the west by the Rocky Mountains; on the north by the northern branch of the Saskatchewan; on the east by Lake Winnipeg, the Lake of the Woods and the waters connecting them.

8. All titles to land up to the 8th of March, 1869, conferred by the company are to be confirmed.

9. The company is to be at liberty to carry on its trade without hindrance, in its corporate capacity, and no exceptional tax is to be placed on the company's land, trade, or servants, nor any import duty on goods introduced by them previous to the surrender.

10. Canada is to take over the materials of the electric telegraph at cost price, such price including transport, but not including interest for money, and subject to a deduction for ascertained deteriorations.

11. The company's claim to land, under agreement of Messrs. Vankoughnet & Hopkins, (extensive blocks of mineral land on the north of Lake Superior,) to be withdrawn.

12. The details of this arrangement, including the filling up the blanks in articles 4 and 6, to be settled at once by mutual agreement.

The foregoing proposition of the Earl of Granville was enforced by the following significant intimation by Mr. F. Rogers in his name:

If this be rejected, either on the behalf of the company or on behalf of the Dominion, his lordship considers that his next step must be to procure an authoritative decision as to the rights of the Crown and the company, and with this object, he will recommend her Majesty to refer their rights for examination to the judicial committee of the privy council, whose decisions will form a basis for any future legislation or executive action which her Majesty's government may deem necessary.

It was evident that the alternative of acceptance would be the summary termination of the company's corporate rights, and on the 24th of March, the proprietors, at least, the English stockholders, at a regular annual meeting of the Hudson's Bay Company, definitely accepted the Earl of Granville's proposition. The Canadian parliament promptly concurred.

The people of Minnesota had watched these proceedings with great interest. Soon after the organization of the Territory of Minnesota in 1849, Governor Ramsey visited the Selkirk settlement, and communicated to the American public a most favorable impression of the Red River country and its inhabitants and the natural resources, mineral and agricultural, of the Saskatchewan Valley. The trade of the Hudson's Bay Company and the settlers was soon diverted from the long and difficult communications by way of York Factory, on Hudson's Bay, and Fort William, on Lake Superior, to the Mississippi steamers and the prairie trails northwest of St. Paul to Fort Garry. In the winter of 1858–'59, a steamer was taken apart and transported from the upper waters of the Mississippi to a convenient point on the Red River, there rebuilt, and during the following summer made trips to the settlement. In 1860, the Hudson's Bay Company established a depot at Georgetown, in Minnesota, and built an additional steamer. The Red River caravans continued their annual trips across the plains; and, in 1864, a report of the Treasury Department, on the foreign and domestic commerce of the United States, estimated the imports of Central British America, for

the use of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Selkirk settlers, as amounting in value to $500,000 annually, while the average annual exports, almost exclusively furs, were not less than $1,000,000.

To close business relations with Minnesota, was soon added an intelligent appreciation, by the Selkirk people, of the advantages of responsible government, and the dissatisfaction with the *régime* of the Hudson's Bay Company rapidly increased. The organization of British Columbia, in 1859, as a colony of England, was immediately followed by a demand for similar institutions over the wide inhabitable area between Canada and the Rocky Mountains. The press of Minnesota encouraged this aspiration. But when the policy of making the Winnipeg districts an appendage of Canada, without seeking an expression of the wishes of the people, became apparent at London and Ottawa, the legislature of Minnesota, in advance even of the termination of the negotiations above mentioned, placed on record in a memorial of March 6, 1868, to the President and Congress of the United States, the following expression:

Resolved, That we regret to be informed of a purpose to transfer the territories between Minnesota and Alaska to the Dominion of Canada, by an order in council at London, without a vote of the people of Selkirk and the settlers upon the sources of the Saskatchewan River, who largely consist of emigrants from the United States; and we would respectfully urge that the President and Congress of the United States shall represent to the government of Great Britain that such action will be an unwarrantable interference with the principle of self-government, and cannot be regarded with indifference by the people of the United States.

Resolved, That the legislature of Minnesota would rejoice to be assured that the cession of Northwest British America to the United States, accompanied by the construction of a Northern Pacific railroad, are regarded by Great Britain and Canada as satisfactory provisions of a treaty, which shall remove all grounds of controversy between the respective countries.

On the 31st of March, 1868, this declaration of the Minnesota legislature was presented to the Senate of the United States, referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and ordered to be printed. (Senate Miscellaneous Documents, No. 68, 1867–'68.)

The Canadian parliament, in June, 1869, after the success of the Granville intervention, proceeded to organize a temporary government for Rupert's Land, or the territory upon Hudson's Bay and its tributaries included in the charter of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the Northwest Territory, which was the designation of the regions drained by the Mackenzie and other streams falling into the Arctic Ocean, or the whole of Northwest British America, except the Pacific slope previously organized as British Columbia. This legislation, and all proceedings under it, preceded the final transfer of the country, and was contingent upon a proclamation of the Queen in council to that effect. The substance of the Canadian bill is stated as follows by a Toronto journal:

1. The Territories, when admitted, shall be styled the "Northwest Territories."

2. The governor in council may make laws for the government of the Territories, and authorize the officer he may appoint as lieutenant governor to make provisions for administration of justice, and generally to make the laws, constitutions, and ordinances necessary for the peace, order, and good government of her Majesty's subjects and others: provided that all such orders, laws, and ordinances so made shall be laid before both houses of parliament as soon as convenient after the making and enactment thereof.

3. The lieutenant governor shall administer the government under instructions given him by order in council.

4. The governor in council may constitute and appoint by warrant a council, not exceeding fifteen or less than seven, to aid the lieutenant governor in the administration of affairs.

5. All the laws in force at the time of admission into the Union shall, so far as consistent with the British North American act, and with this act, remain in force until

altered by the parliament of Canada, or by the lieutenant governor under authority of this act.

6. Public officers and functionaries holding office at the time of the admission into the Union, excepting him or them at the head of the administration of affairs, shall continue to be public officers and functionary officers of the Northwest Territories, with the same duties and powers as before, until otherwise ordered under the authority of this act.

7. This act shall continue in force until the end of next session.

Unfortunately for Canada, the formal cession of the country was not speedily consummated. It did not appear to be convenient for the Canadian minister of finance to pay £300,000 immediately, the English government, as the trustee of both parties, could not proclaim the Territory a part of Canada in advance of such payment, and it was doubtful whether any measures of the Dominion government for the occupation and administration of the Selkirk district were legitimate duri' the summer of 1869. Still, Canadian surveyors proceeded to Fort Garry and were actively engaged under instructions from the land department at Ottawa. It is difficult to estimate or overstate the popular prejudice against Canada which this step excited. Another party proposed to construct a government wagon road from Fort Garry to Lake of the Woods. The demeanor of those Canadian officials and their employés was extremely injudicious. Perhaps all other causes of dissatisfaction would have failed to organize a movement for the forcible expulsion of Mr. McDougall, if the follies of these Canadian subordinates from July to October had not exasperated the inhabitants. Probably the zealous partisans of the Canadian connection did not exceed one hundred, and several of the Canadian settlers who had resided several years at Selkirk had become personally more obnoxious than the officials.

As before stated, the political feeling among the people was in favor of an independent English colony, on the termination, which all desired, of the jurisdiction of the Hudson's Bay Company; but if the proposed incorporation with Canada had been accompanied by a reasonable regard for the wishes and a guarantee of the rights of the people, there would have been a general, if not a hearty, acquiescence. It is a mistake to suppose that the insurrection was the result of accident. There had been much discussion previously among the people. Louis Riel, the youthful French leader of the revolt, when summoned before the councilors and magistrates of Assiniboia and urged to desist, not only justified resistance, but almost obtained the concurrence of the council to his measures. He openly addressed the people in front of the cathedral of St. Boniface after Sunday morning mass, appealing for support in the design to exclude the McDougall party from the country. It is the custom of the French population to proceed to the adjacent buffalo plains, under strict military discipline, for an October hunt; and it was easy, in returning from that expedition, to organize the armed bands which took possession of Forts Pembina and Garry.

The events of the second of November were not followed by any excess. The insurgent party were mutually sworn, under the style of "liberators," and to the number of six hundred, to strict subordination. Although the roads from Pembina to Fort Garry (or Winnipeg, as the village near its walls is called) were under strict surveillance, yet there was no material interruption of business; while a provisional government, with John Bruce as president or governor, and Louis Riel as secretary and marshal, proclaimed and enforced martial law.

I have thus endeavored to present the situation at Selkirk which preceded the events of November 2, and resume briefly the subsequent narrative.

RED RIVER CONVENTION.

The provisional government which was established and recognized by the insurrection, consisted of a council of twelve, namely: Pierre Poitras, Pierre L'Eveille, Magnus Burston, Francois Jeanton, Ambroise L'Epine, J. B. Touron, Louis Lasarte, Pierre Parenteau, J. B. Perrean, Charles Nolin, J. B. Millet, and Andre Bauchemin. The executive office was vested in John Bruce, president, and Louis Riel, secretary, who as commander of the insurgent forces could hardly be considered to hold a subordinate position.

Almost the first act of the new authority was to call a popular convention. Twelve representatives of the English and Scotch parishes were invited, as follows: St. John's, one; St. Margaret's, one; Headingly, one; St. Mary's, one; Kildonan, one; St. Paul's, one; St. Andrew's, one; St. Clement's, one; St. Peter's, one; town of Winnipeg, two, to meet "the president and representatives of the French-speaking population of Rupert's Land in council," in the court-house at Fort Garry, on Tuesday, November 16. The date of this summons was November 6.

As the day fixed for the convention approached, the Canadian party addressed a communication to Honorable William McTavish, governor of the colony of Assiniboia, demanding from him that he should deal with the "threatening position assumed by a portion of the French-speaking population toward the Crown in the person of her Majesty's representative, the future governor of the Territory;" that he, (McTavish,) as the representative of her Majesty in the Territory, "should circulate a full and correct exposition of the nature of the transfer of the Territory to the Dominion of Canada, and of the policy likely to be adopted by the Canadian authorities relative to the government of the Territory;" and that he should warn the insurgents to lay down their arms and disperse to their homes.

On the 16th of November Governor McTavish issued a proclamation, protesting, with much particularity, against the military occupation of the country, the interruption of the mails, the capture of the Hudson's Bay Company's posts and stores, and unlawful proceedings to resist arrangements for the transfer of the government of the country, made under the sanction of the imperial parliament. In conclusion, he exhorted all engaged in the revolt to disperse to their homes, and adopt only lawful and constitutional means for the redress of grievances.

This document indicates the full embarrassment of Governor McTavish's position. He was expected to vindicate the prospective authority of his Canadian successor, when legally he could not recognize any other than his own tenure of office, which, always weak, was now almost suspended by the anomalous situation of the settlement. His proclamation was without effect, except to magnify the importance of the convention, which assembled on the day of its date, and to which the attention of all classes was directed. The Scotch and English settlers had sent representatives. Mr. McDougall, himself, though prevented from attendance in person, was in communication with the body; and a week passed in most earnest discussion, although the session of the convention was not continuous. At length, a "list of rights" was unanimously adopted, as the only conditions upon which the Canadian authority could be tolerated. An abstract of this paper, furnished to the St. Paul and Chicago press, is as follows:

1. That the people have the right to elect their own legislature.
2. That the legislature have the power to pass all laws local to the Territory over the veto of the executive by a two-thirds vote.

3. That no act of the Dominion parliament (local to the Territory) be binding on the people until sanctioned by the legislature of the Territory.
4. That all sheriffs, magistrates, constables, school commissioners, &c., be elected by the people.
5. A free homestead and pre-emption land law.
6. That a portion of the public lands be appropriated to the benefit of schools, the building of bridges, roads, and other public buildings.
7. That it be guaranteed to connect Winnipeg by rail with the nearest line of railroad within a term of five years, the land grant to be subject to the local legislature.
8. That for the term of four years all military, civil, and municipal expenses be paid out of the Dominion fund.
9. That the military be composed of the inhabitants now existing in the Territory.
10. That the English and French languages be common in the legislature and the courts, and that all public documents and acts of the legislature be published in both languages.
11. That the judge of the supreme court speak the English and French languages.
12. That treaties be concluded and ratified between the Dominion government and the several tribes of Indians in the Territory, to insure peace on the frontier.
13. That the Selkirk people have a full and fair representation in the Canadian parliament.
14. That all privileges, customs, and usages existing at the time of the transfer, be respected.

While there was unanimity in favor of the foregoing schedule, yet the convention could not agree upon the requisite guarantee for the execution of its terms. The majority, led by Riel, demanded that Mr. McDougall should not be allowed to assume the office of governor until the Canadian parliament had fully ratified the demands of the convention; while the Canadian partisans professed to be satisfied with the personal pledge of his influence in behalf of such ratification. Whether that pledge would have been given will remain uncertain, since the convention, finding agreement on this vital point impossible, was soon dissolved.

DECLARATION OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.

A formal declaration of independence of Canada followed the adjournment of the convention. It recited the grievances already considered; claimed that the attempt by the Hudson's Bay Company to transfer the Territory was an abdication of their right to govern it; protested against the Canada legislation as a usurpation, and asserted that the people were justified in resuming the authority necessary to vindicate and maintain their rights. There was no other expression than of loyalty to Great Britain, and a confidence that the English people would sympathize with their action. I assume that this document is in the possession of the department, and do not forward a newspaper copy.

PROCLAMATIONS BY MR. M'DOUGAL.

Mr. McDougal, during the month of November, had anticipated that an opportunity would offer to satisfy the people of Selkirk that his administration as governor would be in all respects advantageous to them. The Canadian act contemplated a personal government, at least until the close of the February (1870) session of parliament, and I am satisfied that Mr. McDougal entertained very enlightened views in regard to the measures for the welfare and advancement of the settlement. The people, however, justly desired some further guarantee beyond the excellent intentions of any single individual, whatever his position, and such was the purpose of the convention of November 16. But Mr. McDougal could not consent to waive the assertion of his authority on the 1st of December for the sake of submitting the action of the Red River

delegates to the Ottawa authorities, although I have no doubt that if such a proposition had proceeded from him, it would have been accepted.

On the contrary, he crossed the frontier on the night of the first of December, and under cover of darkness, and during the sojourn of a few minutes on British territory, issued two proclamations, one formally assuming the office of lieutenant governor of the Northwest Territories, and another appointing one John Stoughton Dennis as his lieutenant and conservator of the peace in and for the Northwest Territories, with authority "to raise, organize, arm, equip, and provision a sufficient force within the said Territories, and with the said force to attack, arrest, disarm or disperse" the insurgents, fully describing the latter. Powers of impressment and confiscation to the fullest extent, and to appoint officers and deputies, were also added, with "authority to order all or any of the inhabitants of the said Northwest Territories" to support and assist military movements. I assume that the United States consul at Winnipeg has communicated this document, which led to great excitement and important results.

COLONEL DENNIS'S CAMPAIGN.

On the 6th of December, five days after the promulgation of the above commission, Colonel J. S. Dennis published it, adding a call on "all loyal men of the Northwest Territories to assist him, by every means in their power, to carry out the same, and thereby restore public peace and order, and uphold the supremacy of the Queen." It was attested at Stone Fort, lower settlement, and to this post, situated twenty miles north of Fort Garry, Colonel Dennis succeeded in rallying about two hundred Swampie Indians, mostly half-civilized occupants of a reservation in the vicinity. The Canadians, about sixty in number, were also assembled in arms at the residence of a Dr. John Shultz, in the town of Winnipeg, and it was soon announced that a body of Cree Indians and refugee Sioux, who had been driven from Minnesota for complicity in the massacre of 1862, were organized and moving, some six hundred strong, upon the settlements.

These proceedings united all parties, except the few Canadian officials and their dependents, against Mr. McDougall, and in support of the provisional government. The "liberators" responded in full force to the summons of Riel. Scotch, English, and Americans joined in the public defense. The house of Shultz was surrounded and the Canadians captured. Dennis disbanded his garrison of Stone Fort and fled to Pembina, claiming, in his circuitous route along the western frontier, to have dissuaded the Cree and Sioux bands from hostilities against the settlement; and, after a few days, not unattended with hazard to himself and his party, Mr. McDougall left for Canada.

There is a very considerable body of evidence that the savages of the plains were incited by emissaries of Dennis to fall upon the settlements—an imputation which is thought to be confirmed by his influence over their movements during his flight to Pembina; but, on the other hand, Mr. McDougall protests that he had no knowledge of or agency in the instigation of such a warfare.

LATE INTELLIGENCE.

Since the departure of Mr. McDougall, on the 18th of December, the situation has not materially changed.

Rev. M. Thibault, a Catholic clergyman and vicar general of Quebec, and Colonel De Salaberry, formerly a member of the Dawson-Hindes party of exploration, sent by Canada to the Red River country, have passed to Fort Garry, and are understood to be envoys of the Canadian government to satisfy the inhabitants of Red River by all requisite concessions. They will probably invite and seek to accompany a deputation to visit Ottawa.

A more remarkable circumstance is the arrival of Mr. Donald Smith, sent by the directors of the Hudson's Bay Company to relieve Mr. William McTavish, whose first act was to recognize the provisional government as the only legitimate authority. Canada having declined, on hearing of Mr. McDougall's repulse, to pay £300,000 until the possession of the Northwest Territories is assured, the company claims a reversion of their chartered rights, and they choose to recognize President Bruce and his council. Doubtless they expect, on this ground, to receive full indemnity for the appropriation of the goods and funds of the company for the use of the insurrection.

All of which points to a resolute effort to adjust the Red River complication on any terms. The idea of force seems to be definitely abandoned. Whether the Red River people will be proof against these and other influences, * * * is doubtful, although a rumor prevails that a new journal, about to be established at Selkirk in the interest of the insurgents, will announce definitely that there can be no restoration of the authority of the Hudson's Bay Company; that the hostility to incorporation with Canada is unappeasable, and that until the way opens to peaceful union with the United States, the people will stand resolutely on the ground of their successful struggle, as a province of England, demanding the protection of the British constitution.

I enclose a supplement of documents and newspaper compilations, numbered from I to XII, which bear on the topics of the foregoing communication.

I am, very respectfully, &c., &c.,

JAMES W. TAYLOR.

Hon. HAMILTON FISH,
Secretary of State.

[Inclosure.]

SUPPLEMENTARY PAPERS.

Extracts from the press of the British Provinces, the United States, and England.

I.—SELKIRK SETTLEMENT—GOVERNOR RAMSEY'S VISIT IN 1851.

[From a communication in Washington Chronicle.]

As early as 1858 a committee of the Minnesota legislature compiled a great variety of testimony upon the resources of Central British America, including a narrative by Governor, and now Senator, Ramsey of an official visit to Pembina, on the northern frontier of Minnesota, and a trip to Fort Garry, seventy miles beyond Pembina. After describing, with some enthusiasm, the first approach to civilized settlement, fifteen miles south of the junction of the Assiniboine and Red Rivers, the governor groups the following picture of life on Red River:

"Imagine a river flowing sluggishly northward through a flat, alluvial plain, and the west of it lined continuously for over thirty miles with cultivated farms, each presenting those appearances of thrift around them which I mentioned as surrounding the first farms seen by us; each farm with a narrow frontage on the river of only twenty-

four rods in width, but extending back for one or two miles, and each of these narrow farms having their dwellings and out-buildings spread along the river front, with lawns sloping to the water's edge, and shrubbery and vines literally twined around them, and trees intermingled, the whole presenting the appearance of a long, suburban village, such as you might see near our Eastern seaboard, or such as you find exhibited in pictures of English country villages, with the resemblance rendered more striking by the spires of several large churches peeping above the foilage of the trees in the distance. Whitewashed school-houses glisten here and there, amid sunlight and green; gentlemen's houses of pretentious dimensions, and grassy lawns and elaborate fencing, the seats of retired officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, occasionally interspersed. Here an English bishop's parsonage, with a boarding or high-school near by, and over there a Catholic bishop's massive cathedral, with a convent of the Sisters of Charity attached, while the two large stone forts (at which resides the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, or of the colony; one called Upper Fort Garry, and situated at the mouth of the Assiniboin, and the other termed Lower Fort Garry, which is twenty miles further down the river) helped to give additional picturesqueness to the scene."

Governor Ramsey was satisfied that wheat, barley, rye, oats, and esculent roots were cultivated as successfully as in Minnesota; that Indian corn was precarious; that the country was especially favorable to stock raising, and that the interior districts, even to latitude 60°, near the Rocky Mountains, were no less adapted to agriculture. His language, on the latter point, is as follows:

"But without casting more than a passing glance on the agricultural capacity of remote Peace River, we may come down to the fertile valley and plain of the great Saskatchewan, the Mississippi of the north, which pours its waters from the Rocky Mountains *over more than a thousand miles of agricultural territory*, teeming with coal and other mineral treasures, into Lake Winnipeg; and we may note the still more fertile and desirable lands of its south or Bow River branch, the winter home in its wooded valleys of the buffalo and myriads of other game; as far north as these regions are, *actual experiment* has shown them to be capable of raising successfully nearly every cereal, hardly excepting corn, and every vegetable that can be produced in our lands of the temperate zone further south.

"From what I have seen of the land in that section, and from what I learned respecting its capacity, and making every allowance for its extraordinary fertility also, I hesitate not to *ascribe to the whole of the upper plains on both branches of the Saskatchewan River an agricultural value superior naturally to the fields of our New England in their primitive condition*, and though lack of timber might be an objection to some portions of the Saskatchewan Territory, yet it has mineral coal in abundance, which may be easily mined to supply fuel for a population of the densest character."

The foregoing extracts are from an address of Governor Ramsey before the Minnesota Agricultural Society. The date of his trip to Selkirk was 1851. The italics occur in the original publication.

The Selkirk people during the subsequent period of eighteen years have extended their settlements west of Fort Garry, more than fifty miles along the valley of the Assiniboin, and have sent numerous colonists to the vicinity of Fort Edmonton, on the North Saskatchewan, a thousand miles distant. In this new settlement, four degrees north of Fort Garry, the writer has authentic information from a Mr. Christie, in command of the Hudson's Bay Company's post of Edmonton, that large quantities of wheat and other grains, besides herds of cattle, are produced for the supply of the trading posts still further north.

All these facts have become very familiar to the Canadian public, and have induced a strong desire to obtain possession of a country so desirable as a field of English and Canadian colonization—the Great West of the dominion. The purpose of this communication is not to criticise the wisdom of the measures to that end, or to comment on the events at Pembina, which have interrupted the progress of the Canadian representatives, but to caution the American public not to accept obsolete or prejudiced conclusions in regard to the value of Central British America. The country whose destiny is now at issue has resources ample to constitute four States equal to Minnesota.

J. W. T.

II.—Lord Selkirk's Colonization.

[From the New York Herald.]

The Red River country was ceded to Lord Selkirk in 1811, and was designated as follows:

All that tract of land or territory bounded by an imaginary line running as follows, that is to say, beginning on the western shores of Lake Winnipeg, at a point in 52° 30′ north latitude, and thence running due west to the lake Winnipegosis; thence in a

southerly direction through the said lake, so as to strike its western shores in latitude 52°; thence due west to the place where the fifty-second degree intersects the western branch of Red River, (the Assiniboine,) thence due south from that point of intersection to the height of land which separates the waters running into Hudson's Bay from those of the Missouri and Mississippi; thence in the easterly direction, along the said height of land, to the source of the Winnipeg River, meaning by such last-named river the principal branch of the waters which unite in Lake Seiganagah; thence along the main stream of these waters, and the middle of the several lakes through which they flow, to the mouth of the Winnipeg River; and thence in the northerly direction, through the middle of Lake Winnipeg, to the place of beginning.

In 1812, the first colonists, consisting of several Scotch families, reached Red River, but were met by a large party of half-breeds and Indians in the service of the Northwest Fur Company, and warned not to establish a permanent settlement. The colonists, conducted by these Indians, proceeded to the post of the Hudson's Bay Company at Pembina, where they passed the winter in buffalo skin tents. In May, 1813, the emigrants returned to a place about two miles below Fort Garry, and there commenced their agricultural labors. In the fall of the year they again sought refuge at Pembina, and in the following season made another attempt to plant themselves permanently on the banks of the Red River, at their original place of settlement. During the summer, however, their houses were burned by the wandering half-breeds, and when, in 1815, the main body of emigrants arrved from Scotland, they found poverty and despondency prevailing. The new arrivals, with supplies of all kinds, gave new life to the little colony, but in 1816 a serious conflict took place between the settlement and the native employés of the Northwest colony, in which many were killed on both sides, and the settlers dispersed. Shortly afterward, Lord Selkirk arrived with one hundred disbanded soldiers, composed chiefly of Germans, French, and Swiss, and, recalling the scattered Scotch settlers, the colony was re-established. In 1818 several French Canadian families, under the guidance of two priests, arrived in the country, and in 1820 a Catholic church was erected. The union of the Hudson's Bay and the Northwest Companies, in 1821, gave peace to the colony, and it commenced to grow with rapidity. In 1843 it numbered over five thousand people, and upon the opening of the Northwestern States and Territories of the United States, immigration flowed into the Red River country over the American border, and formed settlements at various places, including Oak Post, White Horse Plains, and Prairie Portage, along the Red and Assiniboine Rivers. The principal of these are on Red River, between the mouth of Rat River and Lake Winnipeg.

The Red River of the North rises in Ottertail Lake, in Minnesota, and flows in a westerly course for some distance, after which it winds to the north in latitude 46° 9′, and passes through vast prairies in an exceedingly tortuous channel, the plains not being over two feet above the water in its ordinary stage in June. In latitude 46° 23′ 30″ a belt of timber sets in and continues, with some interruptions, along its banks to Pembina. In latitude 46° 41′ 12″ the level of the prairies is thirty feet above the river. The stream receives some important tributaries, including the Cheyenne, Pembina, Red Fork, Roseau, and Assiniboine Rivers. Its whole length, from where it enters British territory from the United States to its mouth at Lake Winnipeg, is one hundred and forty miles, and all along a good portion of this distance are scattered the settlements formed within the last few years. Equally rich and attractive districts border the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Rivers, and a few settlements have been formed in them, but most of the immigrants to Rupert's Land have located themselves along Red River.

THE CLIMATE

of this country is remarkably mild for so northerly a latitude. Mr. Lorin Blodgett, in his standard work on the "Climatology of North America," has pointed out the existence of a vast wedge-shaped tract extending from 48° to 60° of northern latitude, 10° of longitude deep at the base, which may be denominated the Winnipeg Basin. It contains five hundred thousand square miles of habitable land, and is subject to few and inconsiderable variations of climate. This author gives a summer of ninety-five days to Toronto, and of ninety days to Cumberland House, on the Saskatchewan River, in latitude 54°. A Canadian engineer, Mr. Simon Dawson, from personal observation, compares the climate of Fort Garry to that of Kingston. Professor Hindes, in an elaborate report to the Canadian government, places the mean temperature of Red River for the summer months at 67.76, nearly three degrees of heat more than is necessary for corn, while July has four degrees of heat more than is required for its best development. Mr. Blodgett claims that the whole Saskatchewan Valley has a climate very nearly as mild in its annual average as that of St. Paul, which would give it a winter mean of fifteen degrees, and an annual mean of forty-four degrees, representing the climates of Wisconsin, Northern Iowa, Michigan, Western Canada, Northern New York, and Southern New England.

III.—Governor McTavish's Proclamation.

[From the Winnipeg Nor' Wester and Pioneer Extra, November 17.]

THE CRISIS.—LOYALTY TRIUMPHANT.—(BRITISH COAT OF ARMS.)—THE GOVERNOR'S PROCLAMATION.

On the 12th instant the following address was presented to Governor McTavish, signed by a large number of our most respectable inhabitants; and on the 17th a reply was issued, which will be found below:

ADDRESS.

Town of Winnipeg, *November* 12, 1869.

To William McTavish, Esq.,
Governor Hudson's Bay Company, Fort Garry:

We, the undersigned, residents of the town of Winnipeg, and loyal subjects of her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, beholding with great alarm the unsettled state of feeling existing in this Territory, and the threatening position assumed by a portion of its French-speaking population toward the Crown, in the person of her Majesty's representative, the future governor of this Territory, and believing, as we do, that the disaffection or dissatisfaction is the result of various slanderous interpretations having been, from time to time, disseminated among the people by persons unknown;

We do therefore now demand that you, as the representative of her Majesty in this Territory, do proclaim among the people, either by convening a public meeting for that purpose, or posting, in conspicuous places throughout the country, a *full and correct* exposition of the nature of the transfer of this Territory to the Dominion of Canada.

We also request that you will explain, so far as lies in your power, the policy likely to be adopted by the Canadian authorities relative to the government of the Territory.

Also, that you deny the numerous libellous slanders which are in circulation regarding the purposes for which the Territory was acquired; that you warn them of the danger they are incurring to themselves by persistence in their present violent course, thereby imperiling the future welfare of the country; and that you do entreat them to lay down their arms, and return peaceably to their homes.

Here is the proclamation drawn from Governor McTavish on the present state of affairs:

PROCLAMATION.

Whereas I, William McTavish, governor of Assiniboia, have been informed that a meeting is to be held to-day, of persons from the different districts of the settlement, for the ostensible purpose of taking into consideration the present political condition of the colony, and for suggesting such measures as may appear to be best adapted for meeting the difficulties and dangers connected with the existing state of public affairs; and

Whereas I deem it advisable, at this juncture, to place before that meeting, as well as before the whole body of the people, what it appears necessary for me to declare in the interest of public order, and of the safety and welfare of the settlement;

Therefore, I notify all whom it concerns, that during the last few weeks large bodies of armed men have taken positions on the public high road to Pembina, and, contrary to the remonstrances and protests of the public authorities, have committed the following unlawful acts:

First. They have forcibly obstructed the movements of various persons traveling on the public highway in the peaceable prosecution of their lawful business, and have thus violated that personal liberty which is the undoubted right of all her Majesty's subjects.

Secondly. They have unlawfully seized and detained on the road at La Riviere Sale, in the parish of St. Norbert, goods and merchandise of various descriptions and of very considerable value, belonging as well to persons coming into the colony, as to persons already settled here and carrying on their business in the settlement, thereby causing great loss and inconvenience, not only to the owners of these goods, but, as has formally been complained of, also to the carriers of the same, and possibly involving the whole colony in a ruinous responsibility.

Thirdly. They have unlawfully interfered with the public mails, both outgoing and incoming, and by that tampering with the established means of communication between the settlement and the outside world, have shaken public confidence in the security of the mails, and given a shock to the trade and commerce of the colony, of which the mischievous effects cannot now be fully estimated.

Fourthly. Not only without permission, but in the face of repeated remonstrances on the part of the Hudson's Bay Company's officer in immediate charge of Fort Garry,

they have, in numbers varying from about sixty to one hundred and twenty, billeted themselves on that establishment, under the plea of protecting it from a danger which they alleged was known by themselves to be imminent, but of which they never yet disclosed the particular nature. They have placed armed guards at the gates of an establishment, which every stick and stone of it is private property; in spite of the most distinct protestations against such a disregard of property, they have taken possession of rooms within the fort; and, although they have there, as yet, committed no direct act of violence to person or property, beyond what has been enumerated, yet by their presence in such number with arms, for no legitimate purpose that can be assigned, they have created a state of excitement and alarm within and around the fort, which seriously interferes with the regular business of the establishment.

And in the last place, they have avowed it as their intention, in all those unlawful proceedings, to resist arrangements for the transfer of the government of this country, which have been made under the sanction of the imperial parliament, and of virtually setting at defiance the royal authority, instead of adopting those lawful and constitutional means, which under the enlightened rule of her most gracious Majesty, our Queen, are sufficient for the ultimate attainment of every object that rests upon reason and justice, the persons who have been engaged in committing those unlawful deeds have resorted to acts which directly tend to involve themselves in consequences of the gravest nature, and to bring upon the colony and the country at large the evils of anarchy and the horrors of war.

Therefore, in the interests of law and order, in behalf of all the securities you have for life and property, and, in a word, for the sake of the present and future welfare of the settlement and its inhabitants, *I again earnestly and emphatically protest against each and all of these unlawful acts.*

I charge those engaged in them, before they are irretrievably and hopelessly involved, immediately to disperse themselves, and peaceably to depart to their habitations, or to their lawful business, under the pains and penalties of the law; and whatever in other respects may be the conclusions of those who meet to deliberate upon the present critical and distracted state of public affairs, I adjure you as citizens having the interests of your country and kindred at heart, to ratify and proclaim with all the might of your united voices this public notice and protest, and so avert from the country a succession of evils, of which those who see the beginning may never see the end.

You are dealing with a crisis out of which may come incalculable good or immeasurable evil; and, with all the weight of my official authority and all the influence of my individual position, let me finally charge you to adopt only such means as are lawful and constitutional, rational and safe.

Given under my hand and seal at Fort Garry, this 16th day of November, 1869.

WM. McTAVISH,
Governor of Assiniboia.

IV.—Mr. McDougall's Statement.

[From the St. Paul Press, Dec. 31.]

Hon. William McDougall arrived at the Park Place Hotel yesterday by train from St. Cloud, *en route* for Ottawa, Canada, to await the action of his government in regard to the Red River troubles. Last evening a representative of the Press called upon Mr. McDougall, and was very courteously received.

He was quite willing to converse freely upon the matters which have elicited so much public attention during the past few weeks, and talked with frankness in regard thereto. From a lengthy conversation, covering the whole ground of the troubles, with all the incidents connected therewith, we gather the following facts:

When Governor McDougall and party were within about thirty miles of the boundary line, they received information from a party who met them, that their entrance to the possessions of the Hudson's Bay Company would be opposed, and that the roads were being barricaded and guarded by half-breeds.

It was stated that the half-breeds were in arms, and would prevent the entrance of the gubernatorial party, until certain demands which they would make should be acceded to. They, however, gave no heed to the rumors which reached them, but kept on to Pembina, and were preparing to proceed at once to Fort Garry.

While the governor was engaged in passing his goods through the custom-house, at Pembina, a half-breed handed him a document, without a word of comment, and at once slipped away without waiting for any reply. On opening it he found a communication addressed to him in French, purporting to come from the "National Committee," signed by Brousse as president, and by Riel as secretary of said committee, warning him not to enter the territory. To this document he gave no heed, and passed on

across the line to the trading-post of the Hudson's Bay Company, about a half mile beyond the American boundary.

From that point he dispatched Provencher to hold an interview with those who were represented as opposing his entrance into the country, with instructions to him to make known the authority under which he came, and the plans, so far as they were developed, of the incoming administration, and to learn what they (the inhabitants) demanded or wanted.

The governor was not in a condition to promise any particular policy, as this could not be decided upon until the government should be inaugurated, and until he should become acquainted with the wants and necessities of the Territory.

Provencher, after meeting the insurgents, or some of them, returned and reported the nature of their demands, and the representations which they made to him. He found that the half-breeds had been incited to their attitude of rebellion by the most unfounded and ridiculous stories, set afloat, undoubtedly, by some manipulator of the insurrection. Among other things they had been told that he would divide up their lands and take their homesteads from them, and bestow them upon his Canadian followers; that he was hostile to their religion; that on his way to their settlement he had killed two priests; that he had basely insulted Bishop Taché, and also his holiness the Pope.

Provencher was escorted back to the Hudson's Bay post by about twenty armed horsemen. On the arrival of this armed party at the post, they very politely asked an interview with the governor, which was at once granted. Two, who were the leaders of the party, dismounted and entered the apartments of the governor, and informed him that they were instructed by the "national committee" to order him to quit the Territory. He informed them that he was there under the authority of the Queen and of the Canadian government, and for what purpose he had come. These leaders expressed their surprise at his statement, and said if they had known these facts before they would not have opposed his entrance into the country, and they thought their leaders would not have done so either.

They also asked why he did not come on to the Sale River and make known these facts to the leaders of the insurrectionary movement. He explained that this was his object, but at the very boundary line he had been met by a peremptory order for him to not enter the Territory. He thereupon invited them to bring in their whole party, to have a "general talk" on these matters. They seemed inclined to do so, and promised that they would come in next morning. They went off, however, and, he believes, held an interview with Colonel Stutsman and others of the plotters, and next morning, instead of returning for a general talk, they came back and took Mr. Hallett prisoner; tied him behind a cart and started him off into the country; refused to have any parley whatever, and ordered the governor and his party to leave by 9 a. m., or their lives would be in danger. As his mission was a peaceable one, he obeyed the mandate and removed to American soil. From that time until he left he had no further communication with the insurgents, though in their public meetings or conventions, some of their leaders pretended that they were ready to negotiate. He thinks the leaders did all in their power, and with success too, to prevent any negotiations whatever, and that their whole policy has been to prevent any conference between him and the people.

In regard to Riel's actual force, he thinks that he never had more than two hundred men actually under arms, unless, perhaps, with the exception of one day. When the fort was occupied by the insurgents, he estimates that Riel's command numbered four hundred, but that part of these soon returned home. At any time he admits that Riel probably had from three to four hundred men within reach and subject to his call. A large number of half-breeds stood aloof, and had nothing to do with the rebellion; and at one time some sixty or seventy of them were actually in arms under one William Dease, for the purpose of escorting the governor's party into the Territory. These, however, were advised to disband and return to their homes, in order to prevent bloodshed among neighbors. He states that according to his information the convention of delegates was by no means unanimous; the Scotch and English half-breeds have never joined them, though many of them indorsed the "bill of rights" prepared by the convention, and were willing that these demands should be submitted to him for consideration. They would undoubtedly have been glad to have seen some of the demands granted, but they (the Scotch and English) *refused to accompany the deputation to present the demands.*

The people engaged in this movement were disposed to negotiate, but their advisers cunningly managed to prevent all negotiations, and there really never were any formal demands presented. The "bill of rights" devised by the convention (which he pronounces American throughout) was never furnished him by those claiming to exercise authority. He obtained a copy through some of his agents.

He states that many things contained therein he would have felt justified in conceding at once; as, for instance, a good homestead law, lands for school purposes, &c., as all these matters would have met the wishes and plans of his government, so far as he knew.

A railroad extending from the terminus of the Pacific road was one of his partially developed projects, and he had already contracted for the building of a telegraph line from Breckinridge to Fort Garry. The wily conspirators, however, were too shrewd to give him an opportunity to know just what their demands were, and to return an official answer thereto.

He returns because, when the Canadian government was notified that peaceable possession of the country could not be had, it refused to make any payment on the contract.

The Canadian government does not propose to pay and *fight* too for the Hudson's Bay property, and hence he returns to await the action of his government. In regard to the treatment which he received from the United States officials and others at Red River, we infer that he was not very well pleased. He finds no fault with Mr. Nelson, who was civil enough. The United States postmaster openly avowed his sympathy with the movement, but expressed his determination to discharge his duty promptly and faithfully. Jo. Rolette is an active, outspoken partisan of the insurgents, and he thinks it can be proven that Jo. was found on guard one night with a musket in hand *on Canadian soil*, for the purpose of preventing loyal subjects from communicating with him (the governor.)

In regard to the enlistment of Sioux Indians, he states most emphatically that he never authorized, encouraged, sanctioned, or connived at anything of the kind. He thinks Shultz did not attempt to enlist the Sioux, but he had nothing to do with him, and whatever he (Shultz) may have done was on his own responsibility and without authority from any one.

He is a strong partisan of Canadian rule, and may have been injudicious in his conduct, but whatever he did was without any authority. The report that some arms were found concealed in a stove-pipe in his house at the time it was captured, and possibly other munitions of war, he suggests as quite probable, but he scouts the idea that there was any "gunpowder plot" to blow up his capters. At the same time he disclaims any knowledge of Shultz's plans, or what took place there, except as he received the information from general rumor.

The governor is quite familiar with many facts connected with the negotiations which preceded the contract between the Hudson's Bay Company and Canada, and thinks that the difficulties pending arise somewhat from the dissatisfaction of the local agents who reside in the Territory at the division of profits. The mails which he attempted to transmit from Red River to Fort Garry were constantly tampered with and interrupted, and thus it was impossible for him to make known his plans or wishes to the people of the Territory.

Governor Smith, sent by the Hudson's Bay Company to succeed McTavish, and Vicar-General Thibault, who goes to consult with the Catholic clergy, have gone on, and he thinks that when these gentlemen arrive, under their influence and advice, the forces of Riel will quickly disperse. Until the contract between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Canadian government is carried into execution, he will remain in Canada and await developments. The heavy baggage of the party is all *en route* to this city, and as soon as it arrives the party will depart for Ottawa.

The governor hopes to leave St. Paul by Monday or Tuesday of the coming week.

V.—The Indian Enlistment under Colonel Dennis.—Further Statements.

Pembina, *December* 19, 1869.

Editors St. Paul Press:

Information has reached here from authoritative sources, and is soon to be laid in an official form before the authorities at Washington, that the adherents of Governor McDougall in the Red River settlement and at Portage La Prairie have been inciting the Sioux Indians in that vicinity and at Mouse River, on the international line, to a raid on Pembina and St. Joseph, in retaliation, as it is claimed, for the aid and countenance alleged to have been given to the Red River rebellion by certain American citizens residing on this side of the line, and that with the opening of spring, if not earlier, the entire settlement on the American side of the line will be wiped out by these Sioux murderers. Reliable information has also been received that these Indians have been subsidized and fed by the Canadian party.

Terrible and fiendish as this conspiracy may appear, it is the firm conviction of the leading men here, based on proofs which appear to justify it, that such a raid has been contemplated and organized, and notwithstanding Governor McDougall's denial of all knowledge of it, everybody here is of the belief that, if he did not directly plan and organize this atrocious scheme, he at least had full knowledge of it. The pretext for

it is as false as the conspiracy itself is devilish. So far as I know, no overt act of any kind that could be construed into a breach of the neutrality laws has been committed by any American citizen on this side of the line. But even if such were the case, what an infernal spirit it is which would sacrifice a whole settlement to gratify their revengeful hate against one or two persons. On the other hand, it is well known here that Governor McDougall has held personal communication with Indians, and has had Indians concealed in his house for days, while on American soil. Moreover, numerous and reliable affidavits can be procured, deposing that the governor, while on American soil, attempted to enlist American citizens, offering to pay and arm them to fight against Riel's party in the Red River settlement. At one time, here, when he had brought a storm about his head, and became frightened at the dangers which threatened him and his party if he persisted in his policy of inaugurating an Indian war, he called a meeting of the citizens here, as he said, to correct an erroneous impression that had obtained, to wit, that he was arming the Indians, which he, of course, denied; but stated that he sent Colonel Dennis into the settlement with full power to take such measures as, in his judgment, would effect the overthrow of the rebels and establish his authority. As to what means he (Dennis) would use he could not say, and was not responsible for his acts, and when directly interrogated by one of our citizens as to whether he would employ Indians if he was there in the settlement, in Dennis's place, he declined to answer and evaded the question. This whole thing looked strange, as his attorney general, Richards, an hour before admitted to an official here that he knew that Indians were armed and employed and even exulted over it and justified this policy. After the fiendish plot of the governor's adherents to blow up the half-breeds who took possession of Fort Schultz, it would hardly be doing them injustice to believe them capable of anything. I.

[Special Dispatch to the St. Paul Press.]

ST. CLOUD, *December* 29, 1869.

Governor McDougall, with Colonel Dennis and Mr. Bigg, arrived here this afternoon at five o'clock, from Fort Abercrombie. The party seems somewhat despondent at the state of matters at Red River, not so much from the formidableness of the insurrection as from several other causes. In fact they seem to regard the thing itself as a small matter, as only a very small section of the inhabitants, they say, is concerned in it.

The difficulty has been with the local authorities. The Hudson's Bay Company, including Governor McTavish, they declare, have been altogether supine, and it is suspected that some of the employés were instigators of the whole affair. The Canadian government, it is gathered from the party, have done much to weaken the authority of the governor by their dilatoriness. The spiritual authorities of the Catholic church have been excessively busy; but it is expected the vicar general of Quebec has authority from Rome to clear away that phase of the difficulty. Besides, the priests do not favor annexationist views, and would probably resist annexation if it were pushed. The Americans and one or two adventurous intriguers on American territory are evidently pulling the strings and pushing annexation ideas.

Regarding the Indians, they insist that the tales related are mostly fabulous. One thing, however, they say is certain: If anything like annexation is attempted the Indians will rise to a man, and the consequence of such rising would be dreadful, and they seem to perfectly appreciate the terror of our border settlers at the idea. As regards Colonel Dennis, instead of instigating the Indians to fight, he used the strongest, and happily successful endeavors, to keep them at their homes and prevent a shot being fired. He had a party of fifty in the stone fort when the declaration of rights was published. He peacefully disbanded them, awaiting further negotiations, which the French expressed a willingness to effect. He, moreover, stopped on the way a large party of Sioux on their way to fight the Americans, which was kind of Colonel Dennis, and went to Pembina to report to the governor. This does not quite agree with the version of your Red River correspondents; but I tell the tale as it was told to me.

The party came from Pembina in seven sleighs, including those which brought McDougall's family through, and had a rather uncomfortable time of it, camping out at night on the way. They will reach St. Paul to-morrow noon, and will probably stay there for a few days. Two Canadian correspondents, on their way to Red River, interviewed the governor and party this evening. One of them charges the whole difficulty to want of tact on the part of the Canadian government.

VI.—Sketch of Mr. M'Dougall.

[From the Montreal correspondent (December 28,) of New York Herald.]

Governor McDougall was born at Toronto in 1822, and was educated there and at Victoria College, Cobourg. He was admitted to practice at the bar quite early, but did not become a barrister of Upper Canada until 1861. In 1848 he established the Canada Farmer, a semi-monthly agricultural and literary journal, and in the following year merged it into the Canada Agriculturist, which he published until 1858, when he sold it to the Board of Agriculture. He also founded, in 1850, the semi-weekly North American, and was its chief editor until it was merged into the Daily Globe, in 1857. In 1858 he entered the legislature, and during the interval between his discontinuance of his paper and 1860 he acted as political writer for the Globe, and at times conducted its political department. From 1862 to 1864 he was commissioner of the Crown lands in the liberal administration, and in the latter year he took the post of provincial secretary in the coalition administration of Sir E. P. Tache, and held that position until the union of the British North American provinces in 1867. He was then appointed minister of public works for the Dominion of Canada, and at the same time the Queen made him a companion of the civil division of the Order of Bath. In addition to the above public duties he was chairman of the convention appointed in 1865 to open trade with the West Indies, Brazil and Mexico, and a member of the Charlottetown and Quebec union conference; and in 1866 he proceeded to England as one of the delegates from British America, appointed to confer with the imperial government in the framing of the confederation act. He has a brilliant reputation as a journalist, and has been remarkably successful as a politician. He is accused of betraying his own party several times, but has always managed to keep in power; and this is not a little extraordinary from the fact that his demeanor is cold and haughty, and his personal relations devoid of geniality, so much so that acquaintances are often repelled and his friends alienated by his icy manner. He will receive little sympathy on his return from his disastrous trip to the Red River country, but will probably get something else just as good as the governorship of Rupert's Land.

VII.—Sketch of the Red River Leaders.

[From a correspondent of St. Paul Press.]

St. Boniface, *December* 24.

Mr. Bruce is by no means ignorant. I know myself he is a man of a sound judgment, a good speaker, and possesses the knowledge of the several and all languages spoken in this community. On many occasions he tried cases with distinguished attorneys, and has always defended his cases with much ability and success. He has always been at the head of the legal profession in the Red River settlement. That testimony was borne by Judge Black himself, last fall. No one can truly attack his character for truth, integrity, morality, and uprightness. He is a clever gentleman in every sense of the word. He is universally well liked.

[From another correspondent.]

PEN PORTRAITS OF THE PATRIOT LEADERS.

Winnipeg, *December* 8, 1869.

Editors St. Paul Press:

It is one of the peculiarities of every revolution, that men, whose talents in times of peace, directed in the ordinary channels, shine resplendent, shall give place in the storms of public excitement to those intellects which seem born in some convulsion of nature and educated in turmoil, assuming the leadership from sheer force of a natural instinct. Their capacities and capabilities are developed in the progression of events, and every chord of their fiery natures vibrates in an anthem of their own patriotism.

Men whose refined and elegant policies wield an almost absolute sway when the mechanism of governments runs smoothly, shrink back in dread from the fierce, determined policies of those beings whose very natures seem to require great struggles, and who exist only in an atmosphere of great political convulsion.

Providence seems to have endowed these men with talents which only storms can develop to their full strength and force, and which require a nourishment of excitement to render them effective.

Let me present your readers a simple pen sketch of the leaders of the Red River patriots, who so eminently belong to that class of fearless spirits referred to.

During the initiatory steps of the movements, when revolution was as yet a disorganized insurrection, comparatively little was heard of the man who now forms the actual head and right arm of the opposition to Canadian rule,

GENERAL LOUIS RIEL.

Like Napoleon, when the exigencies of the times had shaped a path for the exercise of his peculiar genius.

French by blood, born in the country he now so nobly defends, he retains the best characteristics of the people. He is the embodiment of the motives, the principles, and the aspirations of his countrymen.

Educated in Canada and possessed of all the refinement and polish a brilliant intellect can acquire, he combines much of the determination of Napoleon with the tactics of Cæsar. At the age of twenty-four he steps upon the arena, possessed of all the capabilities requisite to the successful management of the trust confided to him—with the full confidence of the people, and the hearty dread of his enemies.

With a physique of medium height, rather heavily set in proportion, frank, honest countenance, and clear gray eyes, his very presence enforces a respect for the secretary and general of the provisional government—a man who would make his mark anywhere and under any circumstances, but when brought out in such a cause will never pause in his career until freedom shall stand on solid and substantial foundations.

PRESIDENT JOHN BRUCE,

a half-breed, chosen from the people, not for his attainments—though by no means to be disparaged—but because he is a correct representative of the ideas and desires of the people from which he emanates. Having passed his thirty-five years of life in pursuits common to his country, he has, as a consequence, a full knowledge of the community, its wants and desires.

Possessed of that splendid physical organization which a life of constant exercise can alone produce, rather above the medium height, a slender but well-knit frame, with piercing black eyes, and firmly set but pleasant features, he is a perfect type of the people which have chosen him. Perhaps, at the time, no man could have been selected to fill the office he now holds who would have given more general satisfaction.

DONAHUE.

Mr. Donahue, who, with the president and secretary, forms the executive committee of three, and who is also a member of the council, is a young man of most extensive education, and a polished genial gentleman. Twenty-eight years of age, of tall and commanding figure, light hair and complexion, his capacity for the emergencies of revolution render him a most valuable counselor and faithful adviser. Born in the United States, he has for so long breathed the free air and imbibed the liberal principles of that best of governments, that the aiding of this revolutionary movement is with him a matter of principle. His indomitable Irish courage and activity add valuable assistance to the patriot cause at this juncture. Cool, collected, with a confidence in his own abilities not easily shaken, he realizes the true, liberty-loving Irishman—always ready to aid in any cause against oppression. In short, he is the Metternich and Talleyrand of the Red River revolution—whose able policies, let us hope, may join us in a closer and stronger bond with that country which in so high a measure possesses our regard.

A NATIVE.

[From another correspondent.]

MAJOR ROBENSON.

The country is governed by a military rule. Yesterday, the 23d December, 1869, the patriots bought the press, materials, and all of Messrs. Caldwell & Co., for the consideration of £550 sterling. I will learn to-day the name under which the new sheet is to be published. The impression was yesterday that the Independence will be its name. The first issue will appear next week. Major H. Robenson is to be the editor in charge. He is a splendid writer, and the paper in his hands will be a success. A paper of a moderate tone, as I understand this is intended to be, under the control of Major Robenson, and published in the interest of the insurgents' cause, will have a telling effect. It will unite the different elements of the Red River population.

VIII.—Comments by the Canadian Press.

[From the Toronto Globe, opposition.]

The original fundamental error of the government lay in ignoring altogether the opinions and feelings of the people of the Selkirk Settlement. The people may be divided politically into three classes: the Hudson's Bay Company officials and adherents; the English and Scotch settlers, with their half-breed connections; and the French, principally half-breeds. The Hudson's Bay Company were naturally inclined to view with jealousy the introduction of a new order of things forced upon them by imperial authority. The other two classes, although, in the main, favorable to Canadian annexation, were jealously on the watch lest the new system should fail to give them the perfect right of self-government which they had been hitherto denied, and for the attainment of which they had gladly welcomed the change. The French were doubly jealous, however, inasmuch as some of them feared to be overrun by British Canadians, aliens to them in race and religion. It is impossible to say whether the Ottawa authorities had any sinister motives for so acting; whether they desired to parcel out the lands of the Territory to suit their own purposes, without interference from its old occupants; but certain it is that they ignored the people of Selkirk altogether in the formation of the first government. They refused to introduce at once a representative system of government, and left the control of the affairs of the Territory for an indefinite period to a governor and council. In the selection of a governor they were guided by motives of temporary political expediency. No one can deny that Mr. McDougal has some qualities of head which, under favorable circumstances, would render him a fair governor; but one more unsuitable for the crisis could hardly have been selected. In the choice of a council, the government were equally unfortunate. Two members of the council, the attorney general and the secretary, one from Ontario and the other from Quebec, were sent up with Mr. McDougall. Captain Cameron, Dr. Tupper's son-in law, went up as a kind of chief of police. The surveying party, which preceded the governor and began work, was exclusively composed of Canadians; and evidently it appeared to the people of the Territory that every good thing in the gift of the new government was to be absorbed by strangers, and that those who had penetrated far from civilization, and lived for forty or fifty years in the hope of attaining the blessings of self-government, were about to be placed under the control of a set of foreign officials, as grasping as those of the Hudson's Bay Company. Let our readers in Ontario put themselves in the place of the people of Selkirk, and say whether they also would not have felt indignant when so treated.

[From another article in the Globe.]

Besides we have had a whisper that some few of those clothed in a little brief authority have already showed *a swaggering, foolish way of going to work*, as if being from Canada, and in official positions, they were infinitely superior to the miserable "niggers" away in the West, and only did them too much honor when they took *undue liberties with their wives, and treated their daughters as if they were no better than they ought to be.* This social danger is as great as any. Two or three *raw, presumptuous, conceited boobies in official positions, fanning and swelling like turkey-cocks, giving themselves airs*, will, among a proud, high-blooded, and ignorant people, do more damage in six months than very prudent and becoming conduct on the part of their superiors can afterward counteract in as many years.

Rumors of Canadians that ought to have known better getting horse-whipped, and deserving the punishment, have got even this length; and if those foolish feather-heads think that they are going to be backed in their proceedings by anybody in this quarter, they are very much mistaken. Red River does not need the importation of a lot of raw, foolish sprigs of Canadian gentility to fill its subordinate official positions; and if any, whether half-breed or English, think that Canadians wish the northwest to be a refuge for cast-off politicians, or a convenient place for influential people getting rid of the dullest of their boys by securing for them there a government situation with a decent salary and no work, they are very far out of their reckoning.

[From the Montreal News, ministerial and conservative.]

Whenever an enterprise miscarries the chief actor, if of inferior metal, casts the blame on others. He either had not been vigorously supported by the central authority, or intrigues had been planned and conspiracies hatched by pretended friends. The return of the Selkirk lieutenant governor and his staff furnishes a curious insight into the discordant materials of which his cabinet was composed. Already the American press denounce what they correctly enough describe as the violation of their territory. We were in hopes that Mr. McDougall would prove that he had not authorized, while a guest of the Americans, any military expeditions to coerce the half-breeds; but there can be no question now that Colonel Dennis and others were employed by Mr. Mc-

Dougall to organize a force of Swamp Indians, and beat up for recruits to put down the disaffected. How Mr. McDougall could have lent himself to so ill-considered and abortive a movement we cannot conceive. He is well aware of the extreme susceptibility of the American population, that their journals would magnify a really insignificant matter into national importance, while he afforded a precedent for filibusters at some future day. They may some day plant themselves near the frontier to co-operate with the Red River annexationists, and his folly has almost deprived us of the right of remonstrance. If he could take his stand on American soil, and from thence direct expeditions against his malcontent subjects, by a parity of reasoning, Fenians or filibusters may exercise the same license. The most ridiculous part of the farce is that the territory which he wished to reduce to obedience never had been transferred to the Dominion. He was in such hot haste to announce himself a lieutenant governor, that he never waited to ascertain whether the Hudson's Bay Company had ceased ownership; even yet he does not seem conscious of the anomalous position he occupied. He does not seem able to comprehend that legally the Hudson's Bay Company were in possession, and must remain so till we pay our $1,500,000 purchase money, and that it was an unauthorized impertinence to issue a proclamation and call himself lieutenant governor over a country where he would be an intruder. The *de jure* and *de facto* governor was McTavish. Yet Mr. McDougall, amongst his other reasons why he failed, falls foul of Governor McTavish, and abuses him for not assisting him. Mr. McDougall dispenses his blame so liberally that none escape his reproaches. He complains that the Ottawa government sent him on a wild-goose chase, and left him without instructions. He forgets that no compulsion was used. He boasted when he was in London, bargaining with the Hudson's Bay Company, that he was the destined lieutenant governor of the Northwest. Surely under such circumstances he ought to have known that he could not enter office until the purchase-money had been paid. It was purely a matter of personal convenience when he set out. Had he delayed his departure until after the 1st of December, the bargain would have been consummated by payment of the $1,500,000. He preferred running all risks, and he managed to create such an excitement that the Dominion, justly alarmed at the reported revolution, withheld the purchase money. If any party has a right to complain, it is the Ottawa ministry, and not Mr. McDougall. Had he stayed quietly in Canada until the purchase-money had been paid, there could not have been any conflict of authority or any excuse for delaying payment. It is puerile for one like him, so long conversant with public life, to pretend that he was left without instructions from headquarters. He ought to have carried his instructions with him, and not manufactured proclamations while in Minnesota, under a sham pretense that he was actually at Red River.

[From the Montreal Gazette, ministerial.]

We have now, from an authentic source, the statement that Mr. McDougall has taken upon himself to proclaim the transfer to the Dominion of Canada of the Northwest Territories. Upon what authority has this been done? The Canada Gazette and, we believe, the London Gazette are silent on the subject. These are not acts that are wont to be consummated in private, no one but a few officials being made aware of them. The London Times announced on the 7th instant that the money had not been paid over on behalf of the Canadian government, but was deposited, awaiting the result of these troubles in the settlement—awaiting the time, in fact, when the company is prepared to deliver the Territory to the Dominion. Till the money is paid the company will not transfer its rights. Till the company transfer its rights the imperial government have all along stated that they will not transfer the Territory; and the Canadian government would be more foolish than we believe them to be if they paid the money or accepted a transfer under present circumstances. If we understand the position aright, therefore, Mr. McDougall, whose appointment as lieutenant governor has never been gazetted, had taken a premature and very rash step. It is lucky for him and Lieutenant Colonel Dennis, his special "conservator of the peace," that no bloodshed ensued from their usurpation of an authority to which they had no right. It is not unlikely, indeed, that an intimation that the transfer had not taken place reached them in time to prevent the culmination in actual fighting of the warlike operations which were so prematurely set on foot. We trust that the Hudson's Bay Company and the negotiators who went recently from Canada may succeed better in their mission than Messrs. McDougall and Dennis in their war.

[From the Montreal Herald, opposition.]

The fact is, that all this trouble has arisen from the pretended liberals of Upper Canada turning tories as soon as they had an opportunity of doing a little bit of the regular Russian and Austrian kind of toryism on their own accounts. Catharine, Maria Theresa, or Frederick the Great, were never more ready to steal a country from its inhabitants under pretense of buying or conquering it from its rulers, in order that

they might turn its resources to their own account, than this little knot of radicals, who have been half their lives clamoring about the rights of the people—as if no other people had rights but those of Upper Canada. They raised a great outcry against the preposterous claims of the Hudson's Bay Company to eject the inhabitants of half a continent, and to treat the soil of that huge region not merely as an English copyholder or French seignior does his manor, nor as an ordinary prince does his realm—that is to say, with the recognition of the proprietary rights of the subjects and tenants—but as an estate, held in absolute fee simple in virtue of a piece of parchment signed by a monarch who had never any pretence even to rule the country, much less to own the freehold of its every acre. Yet the respect for human rights, which these men ought, as self-asserting liberals, to have felt, all vanished when it was proposed to sell the property to them upon the strength of a title which no man of sense and justice can think of without laughter. In order that some Canadian politician should enjoy the post and emolument of a governorship in a country which he had never seen; that a number of other Canadians, equally strangers, should be paid to rule, as councillors, a people who had nothing to say in their appointments, and respecting whose affairs their advice could have had no value whatever; in order that the distribution of whatever valuable lands might be discovered should be made by a commissioner, anxious to support a Canadian party by helping the job of Canadian members of Parliament, our Upper Canadian radicals were ready to spend £300,000 sterling in the acquisition of a property held by a notoriously rotten title, and to deal with the only equitable owners as if they had no existence. All this in the century in which we live is certainly a political phenomenon of a singular kind. We, of course, believe that the apprehensions of the insurgents and of those Indian tribes who are said to feel the like fears are exaggerated. There is probably ample room practically to satisfy all the inhabitants of the Territory, and yet leave a chance for the cupidity of the politicians who have taken our £300,000 to buy offices, and, if they can find good ones, farms, mill sites, railway jobs and mines for themselves and their friends. Nor should we believe that the course taken by the insurgents is a wise one, were it not that we see Sir George E. Cartier, a baronet, Dr. Tupper out of office and Joseph Howe in. These things lead to the conclusion that it does not pay to be squeamish in one's obedience to constituted authority, and that one gains more by a little judicious rebellion than by too uniform loyalty. Let the last point be determined by each person himself—it is in any case certain that in annexing any country to our own, whether it were Nova Scotia or Red River, we could not with consistent regard to the popular character of our government omit, at least, as much ceremonious recognition of the rights of the inhabitants as was shown even by that not very liberal politician Louis Napoleon, when he obtained the cession of Nice. It is said that in popular governments it is essential that there should always be a party strong enough to keep in check the disposition to despotism which naturally grows upon any set of men who become used to power. The mess in which we now find ourselves, and of which this Red River business, probably more annoying to our self-respect than otherwise important, is a part, has arisen from the absolute abdication of the so-called liberals of Upper Canada, whose leadership, since their leader boasted a few months of power, is far more tory than any reasonable toryism of modern type.

IX.—Comments by American Press.

[From the New York Times.]

THE COMPLICATION IN THE NORTHWEST.

It is quite evident that the trouble in the British possessions adjacent to Minnesota is much more than the riotous opposition to authority which the early dispatches represented it to be. Nor is it a strictly local quarrel which this country can afford to view with indifference. Time has shown that the French portion of the Red River population, including the half-breeds, have not raised the standard of resistance to the Canadian governor without organization or purpose. They have acted vigorously yet prudently, with a degree of decision and daring which shows that they are engaged in no mere holiday sport, and on grounds of principle and policy which will assuredly call forth the sympathy of our frontier population. What has until now been regarded with little curiosity in this latitude may prove to be the beginning of very serious complications.

The difficulty has its origin in the transfer of the Hudson's Bay Company's possessions to the dominion of Canada. The insurgents insist that though the company may sell its property, it cannot sell their allegiance; they object to their being handed over to a remote government without reference to their own wishes, and without any pretence of regard for their feelings or interests. They have rights, and they ask for guarantees

that these shall be secured; they have interests, and they demand that these shall be protected. Too far removed to impress them with a consciousness of its power, Canadian authority has, by a series of blunders, forfeited their respect. Before acquiring lawful jurisdiction, or title of any sort, it commenced the work of surveying the territory—a measure which, in the circumstances, looked aggressive, and was calculated to awaken fears among the population as to the security of their tenure. It sent in functionaries and servants whose pretensions were an insult, and whose method of dealing with obstacles provoked jealousy and ill-feeling. To make matters worse, the governor appointed to rule over them was accompanied by a large staff of officials, selected by the Canadian government with no consideration for anything but its own pleasure. A cut-and-dry government was to be imposed upon the people—a government of whose *personnel* and character they knew literally nothing, and the approach of which seemed to them a sign of conquest, or at least of a bargain and sale, involving themselves and their interests, but over the terms of which they exercise no control. Against this state of things the insurrection is directed. Precisely how far it has enlisted the resident population, and to what extent the contest is between the people of French origin and of those more strictly British, we have yet to ascertain.

A mistake will be committed if, in considering the causes and scope of the insurrection, some allowance be not made for the variety and strength of the American influences which have long been in operation in the Red River region. Separated from Canada by a vast wilderness of rock and swamp, the inhabitants of the Territory have no communication with the outer world, save through the United States. They have been accustomed to carry their products to St. Paul for sale, and have derived thence their supplies. Their country was all but inaccessible until Minnesota enterprise established the means of communication. Minnesotians gave them stage coaches and a steamboat, with their attendant mail and commercial facilities; and the marvelous progress of the Minnesota railroad system holds out to them prospects of cheap and rapid intercourse with the market on which they mainly depend. All these are powerful agencies in the work of Americanizing the people. They know Canada only as a far-off country, which has never done anything for their benefit, and which proposes to make the purchase of the Hudson's Bay Company's possessions a pretext for inflicting upon them an authority having no sympathy with their wants or wishes. On the other hand, they know Americans as their neighbors and friends, as their co-workers and customers, with whom they are identified in all that relates to the future of the Northwest.

This feeling is, of course, reciprocated. Our pioneers and trappers and hunters know the people engaged in this insurrection, and will not stand idly by if the Canadian authorities attempt to carry out Mr. McDougall's threat and enlist Indians in their cause. If that government finds itself able to transport troops and supplies over its own territory via Fort William, and so manage to retake Fort Garry and put down the rebellion by regular force, there, for a time, the matter may end. The task may not be easily accomplished. These Red River men may draw aid and comfort of a very practical kind from the bold, adventurous element which forms so large a proportion of our frontier population. But if, after all, Canadian authority vindicates itself with the help of British troops, as against the insurgents of the Hudson's Bay Company's territory, there will be no disposition to begrudge its glory or to question its title. Thus circumscribed, it is a quarrel with which we have no direct concern. We shall cultivate neutrality after the approved British fashion.

But if it is to be made, wholly or in part, an Indian war—if the savages of the plains, whether of the Saskatchewan or of the country south of the border, are to become auxiliaries of British power in the effort to crush the opposition of those who by law are British subjects, the aspect of the case will be altogether changed. An Indian war on the frontier would really mean hostilities on both sides of the line. With the savages incited to savagery, the basis of a common cause between the frontiermen would soon be found. A complication so aggravated would involve contingencies which few of us like to contemplate, just now. The fact that these contingencies will be precipitated upon us whenever the Canadian officials make Indians parties to their quarrel, should suggest to them the exercise of greater caution than has been apparent in the reported action of some of their emissaries.

The first condition of safety in this respect is the recall by the Dominion authorities of Mr. McDougall, whom the Red River insurgents refuse to receive as governor, and who is now an exile under the stars and stripes at Pembina. His position is at once anomalous and absurd. Unable to enter the Territory over which he was appointed to rule in state, he and his ministers and staff have sought refuge on American soil. Therein they have displayed prudence, if not dignity. As exiles, however, they have no right to profit by the opportunities of Pembina to inaugurate plans for waging war against the insurgents. If Mr. McDougall may with impunity convert a log shanty in that lively town into his headquarters as a Canadian official, with the view of carrying on hostilities in behalf of Canadian authority, why may not Mr. Riel, the leader of the insurgents, make his headquarters in another Pembina shanty? And why may

not Head Center O'Neill hoist the green flag over a third shanty as an ally of the insurgents? The truth is, Mr. McDougall is impelled by his ambition to play a dangerous game—a game so dangerous that the United States marshal in Minnesota will be justified in keeping close watch upon the "exiles," and compelling them to respect the neutrality they loudly invoke.

We repeat, then, the Canadian government cannot too quickly remove Mr. McDougall from a position which cannot possibly help it as against the insurgents, but which may, by a mere accident, at any moment, give rise to international embarrassment. Canada is welcome to Fort Garry, and all the territory the Hudson's Bay Company has covenanted to deliver; but it must not hope to send soldiers or supplies over American territory, or to organize forces under the protection of the American flag.

[From the St. Paul Daily Press, December 23, 1869.]

WHAT WILL CANADA DO ABOUT IT?

Our last advices from Red River settle beyond a reasonable doubt these two facts:

1. That the people of the Northwest Territory, as it is called, are substantially unanimous in their determination not to submit to Canadian rule, except upon their own terms, if indeed on any terms; and

2. That they have abundant power and means to enforce this determination against all the force which Canada can bring against them.

It is quite obvious that Canada—or in other words, McDougall, who represents Canada—has absolutely no support in the settlement among its civilized inhabitants in numbers sufficient to deserve even the name of a faction; a few resident Canadians constituting nearly his whole reliance, and about all of these have been captured, and are now held in durance vile. As for the Indians, whom McDougall has endeavored to enlist in his interest, the fact that the insurgents have possession of all the Hudson's Bay Company's forts, as they are called—that is to say, the depots of goods, provisions, arms, ammunition, &c—is an ample guarantee of their friendship, even if the revolutionary party did not possess a still more effective one in the overwhelming numbers of their adherents, and in the ties of kinship which unite them to the great body of the Indians. As Canada is practically destitute of partisans in the country itself, there is no way in which it can coerce the insurgents into submission except by sending a military force into the country. But there is no practicable route on British territory through which an army of invasion could be sent into the Red River country. From Hudson's Bay, which is closed with ice for ten months in the year, the only channel of access to the Red River country is a canoe or batteau route through a series of lakes and rivers, broken by thirty-four portages, through a barren country of rocks, morasses, and jungles, which a few hundred half-breed sharpshooters could defend against an army of many thousand men. It is seven hundred and forty-five miles by this route from Fort York, on Hudson's Bay, to Fort Garry. The only other British route is also a water route of similar character, practicable only by barges and canoes through the chain of lakes and rivers which lie partly along the international boundary between Lake Superior and Lake Winnipeg. The shortest route by this water chain is six hundred and forty-seven miles from Fort William on Lake Superior to Fort Garry and requires fifty portage transhipments. Its morasses and jungles afford an excellent cover for guerillas; a few hundred of whom could defend it against the largest army which could be possibly sent over such a country.

While nature interposes such invincible barriers to the approach of an invading army on the British side of the line, the smooth and open prairies which connect the Red River country with Minnesota afford an easy and inviting route of communication, through which an army ten times as large as that of Xerxes might march abreast "into the bowels of the land without impediment"—but not a Canadian or a British army. Unfortunately for Canada, here, where the path is so smooth and open for horse, foot, and artillery, there are political obstacles far more formidable to British power than any which nature has reared along the Arctic solitudes of the Hudson's Bay declivity. No Canadian army, we may rest assured, will ever be permitted to pass over American soil to subjugate the friendly people of the Northwest Territory. Practically, then, the country is effectually closed against Canada. Every door in front and rear is locked and barred against her. Her authority has been unanimously repudiated by its inhabitants. Her representatives have been ignominiously spurned from its soil, and it is now completely under the control of a provisional government, formed and sustained by the inhabitants and backed by a powerful military organization.

What, then, is Canada going to do about it? Will she apply to England for aid? But England has formally renounced the policy of colonial conquest and subjugation. And she will hardly resume it at the bidding of Canadian politicians, or undertake the enormous cost of such a war as it would entail upon her, in order to coerce the people of the Northwest Territory into the acceptance of an alien government, which has proved its incapacity for the task it has assumed by the enormous blunders which make necessary such an appeal to English aid.

The government of Gladstone and Bright will not, it is quite certain, reverse the liberal policy of the empire in order to place McDougall and a few other Canadian politicians into uncomfortable places among a people who don't want them. On the contrary, it is almost certain that the English government will refuse to sanction any measure of coercion which Canada might wish to employ in obtaining possession of the Northwest Territory.

Then what is Canada going to do about it? There are but two things she can do. One is to treat with the insurgents and accept such conditions as they choose to impose upon her, if indeed they will accept her rule on any terms; and the second is to back square out of the bargain by which the country was ceded to her by the Hudson's Bay Company, or rather by the British government, and refuse to pay the price stipulated for the purchase on the very sufficient ground that the Hudson's Bay Company or the British government, acting as principal in the transaction, was unable to deliver the goods according to the terms of the bargain.

We recommend the latter course to Canada as by far the most advantageous to her own exchequer and her general material interests. Let her make a virtue of necessity and say to England that she does not want these sour grapes which hang so far beyond her reach. She will thus avoid the humiliation of another defeat at the hands of Riel and his French half-breeds, and of having her representatives marched out of the country with a half-breed guard, under the Caudine Forks of Stinking River. And in the mean time, whenever the people of the Northwest Territory, after having successfully vindicated their liberties and maintained their independence against Canada, shall declare themselves in favor of annexation to the United States, the United States, they may rest assured, will welcome them with open arms, and England will gladly avail herself of such a providential opportunity to settle the Alabama claims with the cession to the United States of a country whose destinies God has indissolubly wedded to ours by geographical affinities which no human power can sunder, as He has divorced it from Canada by physical barriers which no human power can overcome.

X.—Comments by the English Press.

[From the Pall Mall Gazette, (London,) Monday, January 10, 1870.]

AFFAIRS ON THE RED RIVER.

The difficulty at the Red River seems to have assumed a very serious aspect; that is, in no degree serious in itself, but serious from the international complications to which it may possibly lead. We must premise that the accounts which we receive from the States, as well as those from Canada, of the events taking place there are very little to be depended on. The Red River settlement is a little half-cultivated oasis in the middle of a waste of frozen marshes and prairies. News from thence has to travel some hundred miles before it reaches the nearest point connected by railway with the rest of the world. Its climate at this time of the year is exceptionally severe. The Canadian papers naturally give the most favorable view of affairs, the American the most unfavorable. But we are forced to admit that up to the present time the latter seem to be nearest the truth. The hopes which we entertained at first of a speedy termination of the present outbreak, through the recovery of the loyal part of the community from their first surprise, must apparently be laid aside for the present. We must be content to look on the affair from its worst side, as at all events the more probable.

It seems that the discontented party, consisting mainly of the French half-breeds, descendants of the old "voyageurs," are masters for the present of Fort Garry and the other scattered posts on the Red and Assiniboine Rivers. Governor McDougall, who had been sent from Canada to take possession in its behalf, has abandoned the settlement and made his way out of it by the only practicable exit—which, unfortunately, is that through the American State of Minnesota. Report—but then the report comes from American sources—alleges that he had employed Colonel Dennis as his agent to stir up the neighboring Indian tribes, clients in former days of the Hudson's Bay Company, to assist him in subduing the revolters. Of this we may at present believe as much as we please, until more trustworthy information is procurable. It takes ten days for news from Pembina, on the American frontier nearest Fort Garry, to reach St. Paul, in Minnesota, from whence it makes its way both to Canada and to us. Thus much, however, appears clear: That fears of an Indian attack, whether well founded or only instigated by malevolence, have excited to a high pitch the suspicious anger of the triumphant half-breeds. Captain Dennis is said to have escaped; but forty-five of his principal abettors were captured by the insurgents; four detained as hostages, the remainder "banished," which banishment seems to have consisted in packing them across the frontier into Minnesota, and wishing them a good journey to Canada. The

successful party are said to be under the direction of one Riel, a Canadian (half-breed, we suppose) of considerable education and intelligence. They have issued a proclamation declaring themselves the only lawful government of "Rupert's Land," (so termed in the company's early days of loyalty to Charles the Second;) but offering to treat with Canada—on terms, however, we are told, (but here again we have no authority on which we can rely,) which it would be impossible for Canada to accept .But "independence" apparently looms in the distance. And the maintenance of independence by a few thousand half-breeds close to the frontier of a State rapidly filling up with an American population is not a very probable event, if it were a desirable one.

It is really necessary to look this disagreeable business in the face, and not to be satisfied with the idle generalities which are usually vented in such cases, about the strength of the British Colonial Empire and the duties of England in respect of it. The Hudson's Bay Company held this territory under the Crown. They sold it—both the powers of government and the land—to Canada. The home government superintended the transaction. It is now said that Canada refuses to pay the purchase-money, on the ground that her vendor has failed to give her quiet possession. Who is to put her into possession, assuming further negotiation unsuccessful, and how?

Supposing the use of force to be unavoidable, there can be little doubt that a very inconsiderable armed force from Canada would suffice to do what is necessary. They would find a divided population, one-half, or nearly so, ready to join them. The country is entirely open and accessible when once the frontier of the inhabited district is reached. There are no mountains or important forests, no fastnesses, natural or artificial. The only course which would seem open to the revolted would be to betake themselves to the neighboring wilderness, and carry on a guerilla warfare with the help of the Indian tribes of the neighborhood. But then the Indians are said to detest the half-castes, and to be far better inclined to aid in exterminating them than to take part with them.

The Red River settlement is, as we have said, easily accessible over a plain country, either in mid-winter or in summer, from the peopled part of Minnesota; still its frontier lies four hundred miles from St. Paul, (close to the falls of the Mississippi,) the nearest American post of consequence. It is less than that distance from Lake Superior, in Canada; but then the space between is a region of marsh and scrub, roadless, tenantless, and almost impenetrable. How, then, is a Canadian force to reach it? With American permission to march through American soil, easily enough. But how without it? Only in one way that we can conjecture. Winter in those regions lasts till April or May. While the marshes are hard frozen it is conceivable that an armed party of hardy Canadian volunteers or militia, with or without such aid as the British contingent could furnish, might effect the march from Lake Superior over Canadian soil in sufficient force to overpower resistance. They could not bring artillery with them, but they would have none to encounter. But we must own that we hardly expect any such decisive resolution from the government of Canada. And if it is not taken and acted on before the spring, the opportunity is over. And then, if no accommodation has been arrived at, everything depends—however it may suit our pride to acknowledge it—on the attitude to be taken by the American government.

It were vain to speculate on such a contingency. We can only form a conjectural judgment from what we know of the habitual policy of that government and of the sentiments of that government and people towards ourselves. One thing has struck us of late as remarkable; and that is the moderation and calmness of the American press, usually so much addicted to the use of aggressive language on international matters, on the general subject of Canadian politics. It seems as if our cousins were really satisfied of what they commonly assert, that they are only biding their time, and that the Dominion is all but ripe for peaceful annexation to their huge possessions.

[From the Pall Mall Gazette, (London,) December 14, 1869.]

THE DIFFICULTY AT THE RED RIVER.

We wonder how many members of the British public, interested in ordinary political intelligence, have attained any definite ideas of the circumstances, or the scene, of that singular little insurrection against the authority of her Majesty which is, or was a few weeks ago, in vigor on the Red River settlement. This most sequestered of all civilized spots lies as near as possible in the geographical center of the North American continent. It is a mere oasis in a desert—an oasis in a Sahara of "lakes, rivers, swamps, treeless prairies, barren hills and hollows"—the very fag-end of the world, as old Lahonton described the country north of Lake Superior, which forms part of it. This oasis lies two thousand miles west of Montreal, the chief city of Canada, to which it is now sought to annex the settlement, five or six hundred from the nearest point of Hudson's Bay, its only outlet by sea, and one thousand east of the Rocky Mountains. But to the south it approaches within fifty miles of the boundary line of the United States; and a population is now spreading rapidly over the fertile levels of the State

of Minnesota, southward of this line. From Canada to the Red River the route (if a track known only to hunters can be so called) lies through Lake la Pluie, over some hundred miles of marshes, inland waters, and *portages*. From the peopled parts of Minnesota it is accessible by a short and easy route over prairies. The settlement itself extends some fifty miles along the Red and Assiniboine rivers. The alluvial soil of their banks is wonderfully fertile. Eighteen years of uninterrupted cropping have been endured by it in some places. Behind the river banks extend vast plains of grass. The climate, it is true, is not attractive; a more than Russian winter and a more than Canadian summer—eight months of frost and four months of mosquitoes. But in favorable seasons the produce is enormous. The settlers are described as reveling in rude abundance; their only drawback the absolute impossibility hitherto of exporting their overplus or importing the commodities of civilized life except through the distant waters of Hudson's Bay, open only two or three months in the year.

On this secluded island in the wilderness dwell some twelve or fifteen thousand British subjects—farmers, hunters, fishermen. They have been very mildly governed for some fifty years past by the Hudson's Bay Company; they have a bishop and clergy, a recorder, a governor, with all appliances, found for them at very trifling expense to themselves. And so long as the late Mr. Ellice, popularly termed the Bear, lived, they had in England a kind of pope, or head lama, whom they venerated at a distance, and who was ever active and vigilant in protecting them against the dreaded invasion of foreigners, British or American. For the truth is that the Hudson's Bay Company petted and encouraged these simple folks for good reasons of its own. Its rulers were excessively anxious to prevent interlopers from meddling with their fur trade to the north, and they were always ready to point to this "thriving agricultural community" as a proof that they had a soul for greater things than the pursuit of fur-bearing animals—that they were, in truth, enlightened patrons of civilization.

It might have been thought that a community so secluded and so cared for would at least be at peace within itself. But, alas for the imperfection of human nature! nothing could be further from the fact. Ever since its foundation by Lord Selkirk sixty years ago, the settlement has been a scene of permanent intestine division. It has two persuasions—Anglican and Roman Catholic; two languages—English and French; with numbers nearly equal, with a considerable dose of the savage Indian element at the service of either party when required. Its foundations were laid in strife. Lord Selkirk brought there a stock of hardy Highlanders from Sutherland, and established them under the protection of the Hudson's Bay Company. But the Northwest Company of Montreal strove with the former for their vast monopoly, or a share of it. They surrounded the infant colony with a cordon of "half-breeds"—offspring of Canadians and Indian women, popularly termed "*Les Bois Brulés;*" and ultimately actual war broke out between them. The Scots were for a time outnumbered by their wild enemies. Governor Semple, a brave and righteous man, was killed in a skirmish in 1816. Then the authorities on both sides got frightened, and peace was made. The companies coalesced. And the little settlement, like infant Rome, was made to admit within one ring fence its Romans and Sabines—British settlers and half-breeds on the one side, Canadian half-breeds on the other—to live together on as good terms as they might. This the colonists accomplished judiciously by settling apart at the opposite ends of the occupied ground. Since that time a kind of hollow peace has prevailed between them, but not without interruptions. In 1836 "a person styling himself General Dickson, of the Indian liberating army—one of those premature filibusters whom America has so often sent forth—came from Washington, and made an effort to seduce the servants of the company with the pretended object of uniting all the Indians in one nation, of which he was to be chief under the title of Montezuma the Second." He, his brigadier, aides-de-camp, and officers, "dressed in grand uniforms," were overtaken by winter, and reached Red River in sorry plight—poor Montezuma with the loss of his toes—where the company, from the very necessity of the case, were compelled to feed and warm their enemies until they could be sent home in the summer. About 1847 a gentleman named Isbister, who had, we think, been in the service of the company, aimed at effecting the liberation of the settlers from its government, arousing a considerable spirit of opposition to it in this country, and somewhat dangerous disaffection—so its servants complained—among the people themselves. But the danger passed away, and little more was heard of "Assiniboia," except its new and ambitious name, until it was sold, with other territories, by the Hudson's Bay Company to the home government on behalf of Canada, and Canada was finally placed in possession.

We now receive information that this transfer has been the signal for disaffection and armed revolt. The governor sent from Canada Mr. McDougal, making his way to his post through the United States, there being, in fact, no other road, has been stopped on the frontier by armed men, and remains at Pembina, in Minnesota, issuing mild proclamations to his obstinate subjects. But there is one feature in the case which, with our present information, we are quite unable to explain. It is this: that the malcontents are represented as belonging not to the British, but to the Canadian section of

the people; it is the "Bois Brulés," the French-speaking half-breeds, who are "barring out" their Canadian governor, and pronouncing in this angry way against union with a Dominion largely inhabited by their own original fellow-countrymen. The British section, full and half-breeds, are said, on the other hand, to be favorable to the change, or to acquiesce in it. These things require explanation. It may be that the insurgents are simply the most ignorant and turbulent part of the settlers, and those most easily acted on by the instigation of malevolent intriguers. If so, there is every reason to hope that the disturbance of the peace will be transient only, and that the common sense of the more enlightened party will prevail. But it will perhaps be difficult for the Canadian government to maintain that system of special conciliation by which the quondam company were willing enough to purchase submission.

The matter, however, is one which would be calculated to excite but little interest in this country were it not for one circumstance, with which Canada will have to deal as best it may. We have said that the Red River is (practically) all but inaccessible from Canada. On the other hand, it is very accessible indeed from the contiguous part of the States, and existing railways alone would suffice to connect it, with but little expenditure of time and labor, with the whole of them. Enthusiastic people of the colonial party see no difficulty in all this; Canada has only, in their view, to make a railroad from Lake Superior to Red River, thence across the Rocky Mountains to the Fraser River, and the work is accomplished, and British America bound together with a girdle of iron. To such reasoners as these distance, climate, and physical obstacles present no embarrassments at all. Those who have reflected a little more on the subject know what speculative patriotism ignores; that there is no forcing colonization or commerce to follow artificial routes, by land or by sea, even if countless millions be devoted to making them. The natural lines must prevail; Minnesota will always be close to Red River, Canada far from it. Even now, if the Dominion were forced to employ military force against these rough people—a contingency which we conceive to be extremely improbable, but which must needs be borne in mind—Canada, it is said, would have to ask the States for permission to send that force through their territory. And this must be true, unless the two or three hundred roadless miles between Lake Superior and Red River traverse a much more penetrable region than it is commonly represented. It is of no use to shut our eyes to the unpleasant side of the questions like this, or to call those unpatriotic who present it to us. Admit the difficulty and try if courage and ingenuity will find a solution.

[From the Telegraph, (London,) January 11, 1870.]

What is the meaning of the rebellion at the Red River? Who are the rebels? What do they want; and against whom have they rebelled? These are questions which have been often asked within the last few weeks by persons not otherwise ill-informed, who have been puzzled by the telegrams, and by extracts from the American and the Canadian press, declaring that the rebellion was rapidly gaining in strength and tenacity. Some people, who would certainly run the risk of being plucked if they were undergoing a civil service examination, have even gone so far as to ask where the Red River is, thinking, perhaps, that it may run into the Red Sea. For the benefit of the geographically ignorant, let it be known that the Red River takes its rise in Minnesota, one of the States of the American Union, and that it runs into Lake Winnipeg, in British territory. This portion of British America was formerly known as Rupert's Land, and was governed under the sovereignty of Great Britain, by officials of the Hudson's Bay Company, holding from the Earl of Selkirk and others, to whom it was granted by charter of King Charles II. Little was heard or known about the Red River or about the vast districts of the Saskatchewan and Assiniboine, while those regions were still under the sleepy, though paternal, rule of the old Hudson's Bay Company. It was the policy of those wealthy traders, who were fur dealers, and not miners or agriculturists, to represent the whole region as a howling wilderness, fit only for the purposes of the hunter and the trapper. But the Americans in the conterminous State of Minnesota were much too acute to be deceived, and convinced themselves by ocular demonstration that the region was one that might be made to flow with milk and honey if opened up to emigration. Canada, whose own frontiers in that direction had never been clearly defined, looked with a longing eye toward the Red River, and in 1858 she sent out an exploring expedition to the northwest, under the charge of Professor Youle Hinde, who, in 1860, presented his report to the Canadian Parliament. That report, which was transmitted to England, and printed by order of the House of Commons, set forth in detail what was already known to the Minnesotians and to all the actual settlers—that the Red River territory was as well adapted for colonization as any other part of the continent, and that, although some districts to the north were fitter for the hunter than for the plowman, there was "a fertile belt" capable of profitable cultivation, and almost as large as England. Even at that comparatively early date the Canadians made up their minds to possess the country. In the year 1863, when the Hudson's Bay Company was revolutionized by a *coup de main*—we might almost call it a

coup d'état—and engineered by Mr.—now Sir Edward—Watkin, a proposal was laid before the Duke of Newcastle, then secretary for the colonies, to establish a crown colony on the Red River, under the name either of Rupert's Land or of Hesperia. The duke was understood to be favorable to the project; but his successors in office seemed to think that the mother country had colonies enough on her hands, and they declined to take any steps for increasing the national family. Thus matters remained for nearly six years, the idea of a crown colony being wholly abandoned by its original promoters. After long negotiations, which were continually on the point of falling through, the politicians of Canada ultimately prevailed with the British government, not only to permit, but to favor, a confederacy of the whole of the British North American provinces. The anomalous position of the Hudson's Bay Company, with regard to Great Britain on the one hand and Canada on the other, could not fail to come under consideration. The result was, that the Hudson's Bay Company, acting under pressure from the colonial office, consented to sell its rights, whatever they might be, to the Canadian Dominion for the sum of £300,000. Those rights included the sovereignty —subject to British supremacy—of the Red River country, and part, if not the whole, of the famous "fertile belt."

Every one knows that there must be two parties to a bargain; but to this particular bargain there happened to be three parties; and, to all present appearance, there are, or speedily will be, four. The local population included descendants of the French who colonized Canada and the regions of the Red River before their cession to the British crown in 1760, and the half-breeds, the result of French intermarriage with the Indians; a considerable sprinkling of Scotsmen, who are to be found in every region under the sun where there is fortune to be got by hard work and enterprise; and a still larger infusion of Americans from Minnesota and Wisconsin. This highly mixed people objected to incorporation or confederation with the Canadian Dominion, and declared point-blank that the sovereignty resided with the people, and that they were not to be sold by the Hudson's Bay Company or bought by Canada, but that they were, or intended to be, masters of their own destiny. They might possibly elect to remain a colony or dependency of the British crown, but most certainly they would not elect to join their fortunes with those of Canada. Hereupon issue was joined and battle was declared. The latest telegrams report that the fortune of war inclines to the side of the Red Riverians—they must forgive us if we cannot hit upon a better name for them—that they have captured forty-five of the leading inhabitants, who are conspicuous for their loyalty—whether to the Canadian Dominion or to Great Britain, or to both, is not stated—have tried them by court-martial, and have sentenced them to perpetual exile from the territory, with the exception of four, who are to be detained as hostages. The governor, Mr. McDougall, deputed by the Canadian Dominion, a few months ago, to take possession and to organize a regular government, has been defeated, with all the loyal force that he brought with him or could summon to his aid, and has been forced to retreat across the American frontier. The Canadian government is prevented from sending him re-enforcements through British territory, not only by the difficulties belonging to the severe winter, but by the absence of roads; and it cannot send him aid through American territory, where there are not only common roads, but railroads, because the consent of the federal government is necessary, and the mere application for such permission—which might possibly be refused—would be a confession of weakness, much too humiliating to be hazarded, in face of the well-known desire of the Americans to annex the whole territory. The rebels are stated to be almost exclusively composed of the French and the Indian populations, and the half-breeds. We suspect, however, that immigrants from Minnesota have a greater hand in the rebellion than is supposed. The discontent is of more ancient growth than the purchase of the territory from the Hudson's Bay Company; for so early as June, 1862, a manifesto was put forth at Selkirk, the principal town, declaring that nothing would satisfy the people but annexation to the United States. The authors of the manifesto complained that Great Britain treated them with indifference and neglect; that the country had no postal communication with any part of the world, except through the United States; that it had no means of supplying itself with any merchandise or commodity which the residents required, except by the same channel, or by costly trading and uncertain communication with Canada. The animus of these complaints was evidently American, and any one who knows the eagerness of the Americans for territory, whether to the north or to the south of the existing Union, will not be surprised to learn that the rebellion is encouraged by American sympathy, and may, at any moment, on sudden provocation, receive American support. General Hancock, the federal officer in command in Minnesota, has declared that he will not send troops to Pembina, the American station on the frontier, unless he learns that American settlers are in danger of being troubled by the Indians. The words are ominous of coming complications, and have an unpleasant smack of approaching intervention.

The event, however it may turn, proves the wisdom of those who, more than six years ago, proposed the formation of a crown colony, to extend across British America

from Canada to Columbia. Had this idea been carried out, no rebellion would have arisen on the Red River, and no difficulty would have occurred. It may now be too late, though we cannot help thinking that even now the establishment of such a colony by the imperial government would pacify the insurgents, checkmate the Americans, relieve the Canadian Dominion of a payment which it cannot well afford to make, and open up to colonization, not only the valuable territory of the Red River, but the vast regions of the Saskatchewan. The cession of the country to Canada was a mistake. Canada can neither govern nor colonize nor subdue it; and if it is not to be ultimately ceded to the Americans, probably the best thing to do with it would be to place it upon the same footing with regard to the Crown as Columbia, or as Canada itself.

[From the Times, (London,) January 13, 1870.]

Our readers will have observed from time to time, in our American intelligence, statements respecting the Red River rebellion, and the troubles which beset the Canadian authorities on the shores of Lake Winnipeg. The subject naturally excites but a very faint interest; the place is distant; its geographical position is obscure; the causes of the quarrel are only vaguely known; and the result is almost a matter of indifference to individual Englishmen. It is the affair of the Canadian Dominion, and does not come within the sphere of British home politics. Yet there is something in this remote tumult in the wilds of the New World which will repay attention. Even a dramatic element is not wanting. In short, the Red River warfare only needs a "sacred bard" to win a respectable place among cotemporary events.

About midway between Canada and the Rocky Mountains, and close on the northern border of the United States, is the settlement which is now the scene of what we must call a civil war. It forms part of the vast territory which has hitherto been administered by the Hudson's Bay Company. The seat of the settlement is likely to be one of the most prosperous in the north of the continent. The climate is, indeed, rigorous, though, we believe, far less severe than under the same latitude on the Atlantic shore. The land is one of lake and stream, and does not yield to any part of the continent in the majestic vastness of its waters. A system of three great lakes receives the rivers of a vast region. Lake Winnipeg has a length of 264 miles, and an average width of 35 miles; it covers not less than 9,000 square miles. To the southwest of Winnipeg lies Lake Manitoba, and to the west, Lake Winnipegoos, the three lakes being connected by navigable channels. Their united area is said to equal that of Lakes Ontario and Erie combined. The great stream of the Saskatchewan, after flowing a thousand miles from the Rocky Mountains, falls into Lake Winnipeg; the Winnipeg, the Red River, and the Assiniboine roll through the same favored region. The settlers have lived hitherto under the protection of the Hudson's Bay Company, being reconciled, no doubt, to its anomalous jurisdiction by the fact that they were left to govern themselves pretty much as they chose. We do not hear that they have been very energetic and progressive, but they have been independent and contented. Agriculture and hunting have given them a livelihood, and they have had some share of the blessings of civilization, for on their southern border the State of Minnesota has made remarkable progress, particularly in the development of its railway system. Through Minnesota, the remote Winnipeg has been brought into contact with the outer world. One may assume that a good deal of the American spirit has been diffused among the settlers. Those of French origin are said to be very numerous—perhaps the majority. In the present quarrel they have almost unanimously taken part against the new order of things, and they are the most deeply concerned in the movement for independence. The English are more placable, though many of these have opposed the new governor, and nearly all of them would have preferred to be left as they were. The third element in the population is the Indian. Many of those called French or English are of mixed breed, and there are, besides, numbers of full-blooded Indians more or less reclaimed from savagery, and living on terms of amity with the white men.

It was to this primitive community that the government of Canada announced some months ago that the Hudson's Bay territory had been transferred to the Dominion, and that the settlers must prepare to receive a governor and officials appointed by itself. In its acts the Dominion appears to have been premature, for the transfer of the Hudson's Bay territory had not been completed, and, even assuming that the purchase would give the Canadians the right to govern the Red River as they pleased, that right had not accrued. But in the autumn Mr. William McDougall was sent to the settlement as governor. We will endeavor to guard against doing injustice to this gentleman, of whom we know nothing; and it is proper to state that almost everything we hear comes from those who are friendly to the insurgents. But it is not, indeed, necessary to charge Mr. McDougall with violence or rashness; the people of the Red River would probably have opposed any other governor with equal pertinacity, for it was to the principle of the transfer, which had been or was to be made without any reference to their own disposition, that they objected. Mr. McDougall took possession of the government and issued a proclamation which gave much offense. It is urged on behalf of

the insurgents that he came without any constitutional limitation of his powers, that he was free to appoint his own creatures to every post of emolument, and to order things exclusively by his own will. The settlers feared that the rights they had acquired by occupation would be set aside; and they assert that the governor's Canadian surveyors marked out pieces of land for the friends they expected, although this very land might be in the possession of a squatter whose rights the community had always respected. Then the settlers feared for their intercourse with the United States, through which they had been supplied with the necessaries and the few luxuries of their life. The Dominion might, if it chose, impose heavy duties on goods crossing the frontier, and the old freedom of backwoods trade be interrupted for the benefit of people living fifteen hundred miles off, and exercising a purely usurped authority.

Such, according to themselves, are the grievances of the inhabitants of the Red River settlement. Mr. McDougall soon found that he must use force if he wished to retain any authority whatever. It appears that there was a scheme to enlist Indian tribes in the government service, but this seems to have been attempted to a very small extent, and to have been quite a failure. The governor could make no way against the insurgents; they took possession of Fort Garry, and made it the headquarters of their new government; they attacked the governor again on the border, captured the fort in which he had sheltered himself, and drove him into United States territory. When last heard of he was at Pembina, in Minnesota. He was said to be making efforts to get up a counter-revolution, but without success, and he had with him no force but about fifty Swamp Indians. The insurgents have established a government of their own; they send suspected persons across the border into the United States; they maintain a mounted patrol, and they have their scouts at Pembina to watch the governor.

But we have anticipated in speaking of the actual exercise of government the solemn formality with which it was assumed. Be it known, then, that the provisional government of Rupert's Land and of the Northwest Territory published its "declaration of independence" on the 24th of November, 1856. This document is as close an imitation of the celebrated performance of Jefferson as could be attained by the simple patriots of the Red River. Like its model, it opens majestically: "Whereas, it is admitted by all men as a fundamental principle that the public authority commands the respect and obedience of all its subjects, it is also admitted that the people to be governed have the right to adopt or reject the form of government, or refuse allegiance to that which is proposed." The insurgents go on to declare that when a community is abandoned by its rulers, or transferred by them without its consent to a foreign power, the ties of allegiance are broken, and the people of Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territory have now become free and exempt from all allegiance to the government. They refuse to recognize the authority of Canada; they throw on the Dominion the responsibility of the conflict which will be caused by a perseverance in a policy of subjugation, and they conclude as follows: "In support of this declaration, relying on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge ourselves on oath, our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor, to each other." It remains to be noticed that this document is signed by John Bruce, president, and Louis Riell, secretary, who, we presume, stand for "the representatives of the people in council assembled." President John Bruce is, as we learn from an American source, "a half-breed, chosen from the people, not for his attainments, though these are by no means to be disparaged, but because he is a correct representative of the ideas and desires of the people from which he emanates." He is thirty-five years old. General Louis Riell, the "secretary" of the council, is French by blood, and twenty-four years of age. He combines much of the determination "of Napoleon with the tactics of Cæsar." It would seem that, in hustling the unfortunate McDougall out of the Territory, he has found means to impress his friends with a transcendent idea of his genius. Such are the people, the events, and the leaders; and our readers will agree with us that the whole forms a subject of some interest. The statesmen of the Canadian Dominion will have need of all their skill and caution, as well as their courage, if they wish to unite the whole of British North America into a single state.

[From the Spectator, (London,) January 15, 1870.]

THE INSURGENTS OF THE RED RIVER.

As far as we can see, the British government has only one course to pursue with the insurgent Winnipeggers, as derisive Americans call them, and that is to wait quietly till summer arrives, and then restore the imperial authority, if necessary by an expedition as powerful as that which overthrew King Theodore. The case of the insurgents is no doubt very remarkable, and in one respect exceptional, but they are pleading it in a way to which no government that intends to continue existing can possibly submit. They are appealing to a foreign power to assist them in repelling a legal jurisdiction set over them by Parliament, and in the mean time resisting that jurisdiction by force of arms. Technically, they have no case at all. The few thousand settlers in

revolt on the Red River do not form a colony in the modern sense of that term: that is, a dependent state owing allegiance to her Majesty in the last resort, but wielding many of the powers of sovereignty; but are simply a body of squatters within her Majesty's dominion, who have been allowed to do very much as they pleased, but who are none the less bound to obey the authority set over them, provided only that the authority is British. They seem to see this themselves, for in the declaration of independence issued on the 8th of December at Fort Garry, "President" John Bruce declares, on behalf of the provisional government, that the settlers have been transferred without their own consent to "a foreign power," and intimates that they are rebelling against that, but the assertion is absolutely without foundation. The Canadian Dominion is as much a part of her Majesty's realm as the county of Cornwall, and the settlers have as much legal right to resist their annexation to Canada as the people of Cromarty would have to resist the fusion of their oddly-divided county into Ross and Sutherland Shires. In driving out Mr. McDougall, if he were legally appointed—a fact of which there is some doubt—they are resisting the Queen's representative, and resistance of that kind cannot be tolerated if the empire is to hold together. It is one thing to allow a colony, organized by Parliament with a view to its ultimate independence, to go free after a regular vote and negotiation, and quite another to permit a handful of settlers to kick out the royal flag, and transfer the territories they happen to roam over to a foreign power. The Winnipeggers claim the whole Northwest, of which they do not occupy a thousandth part, and are said to intend to appeal to President Grant that they and "their" possessions may be included within the Union. It is quite impossible for any government to put up with coercion of that kind, and great as the difficulties in the way of action are, they must be faced, and faced by Great Britain. It is her authority which is resisted, and not that of Canada, for the settlers have not formed themselves into a colony willing to accept a British governor, in which case we might have waited a few years for the fusion ordered by Parliament; but into a state claiming independence, and intending to request admittance into the Union. The difficulty of exerting British power at that distance and in such a locality is very great, but it must be faced, as similar difficulties were faced in Abyssinia, or we must be content to allow that British authority can be safely defied whenever it is inconvenient to exert it; that is, we must surrender the first idea of empire. It is greatly to be regretted that a force cannot be dispatched to the Red River at once, but that is, we presume, impossible. We cannot proceed by the natural route through Minnesota, the republic forbidding transit for troops across its territory, and action by the Canadian route involves the march of a thousand men, with arms, amunition, and baggage—that is, practically of 2,000 men and 1,500 horses—through an impervious forest in which every pound of forage must be carried, and every step of the road must be cut with the axe, a work which in winter may be pronounced impossible. The men would die of cold and want of provisions, or arrive too exhausted to be of service. There is nothing to do but wait; but the weather once favorable, that road must be made at any expense, and the Red River brought back to its allegiance, if necessary by force. The danger of American complications, though no doubt considerable, must be faced as courageously as may be, with full consciousness that it is serious, but a full resolve also not to suffer it to enfeeble an imperial policy. If we are to remain in North America at all, we must act in our own dominions without this incessant reference to the ideas of statesmen who never deflect their own policy out of any deference to us. There is neither dignity nor safety in this perpetual apprehension of a power which knows perfectly well that war with Great Britain would be the gravest event in its history, and if not insulted or assailed, will at least choose a great occasion for so great a struggle. The Union does not want the Red River at the price of a seven years' war.

But we may be asked, although these settlers by Lake Winnipeg are legally in the wrong, may they not have a moral justification for their action? That is only to ask again the old question of the limit to the right of insurrection. Has every community, however small, the right to destroy an organization, however great, because it thinks that by such destruction it may benefit itself? May the people of the Orkneys morally claim a right to set up for themselves? We dare say the few thousands of people represented at Fort Garry would be a good deal happier if their possessions formed a State of the Union, and if they governed themselves in the rough way they like, and if they were exempt from any fear of Canadian taxation, and if they were left in full enjoyment of their practical monopoly in the waste land. We do not know that they would be, but we are quite willing to assume that they know their own business best. But then the happiness of Red River settlers is surely not the ultimate end of the world's politics, or even of those of North America; and it is as certain as anything of that kind can be that the world and the continent would both be injured by the independence of the Red River. The world would be injured because its freest and most civilized state would be proclaimed powerless to hold her own, a failure in organization and in ideal; and North America would lose its greatest prospect, the rise of two great and friendly but different political civilizations. The plan of the Canadian Dominion is a very great and very wise one, and we cannot admit the right of a few thousand

settlers, whether half-breeds or whole-breeds, to mar it either for the sake of their own political dignity or their own personal comfort. We regret greatly that they should suffer; we would make any concession compatible with the general policy, and are not without respect for the kind of self-esteem bred by political isolation and the habit of independence; but those feelings, though they would induce us to spare after subjugation, would not induce us to avoid subduing. The British Parliament and the immense majority of persons in British America have agreed to found there a grand state, and any groups of individuals who cannot approve the plan must either endure it patiently or depart. They cannot be allowed to stand in the way either of the imperial career, or of the destiny which the whole empire deems the most fortunate for the vast territory in which their "settlement" is but a pretentious village.